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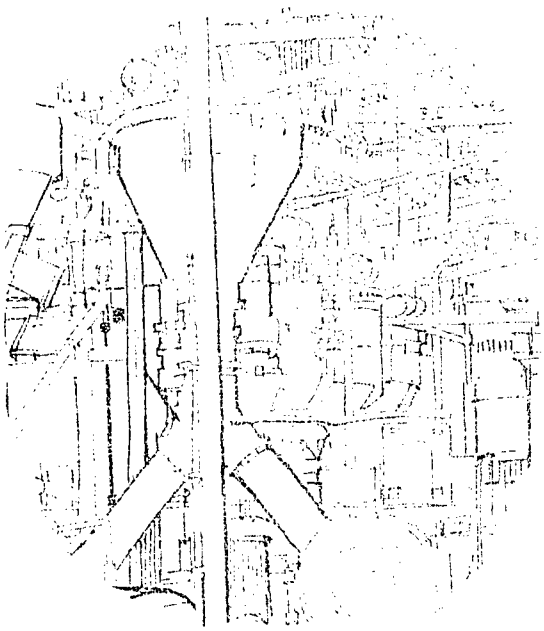
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify youth adjustment problems in the transition from high school to work and to recommend possible solutions. Data collected in Columbus, Omaha, and New Orleans, through interviews with 642 workers between the ages of 17 and 27, focused on the following areas: (1) transition from high school to full-time work, (2) motivations, rewards and job evaluations, (3) relationships with work environment, (4) attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns related to work, and (5) career patterns. The findings in these areas are relevant for administrators, teachers, counselors, and business leaders interested in improving the transition from school to work. (BH)



RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
SERIES NO. 43

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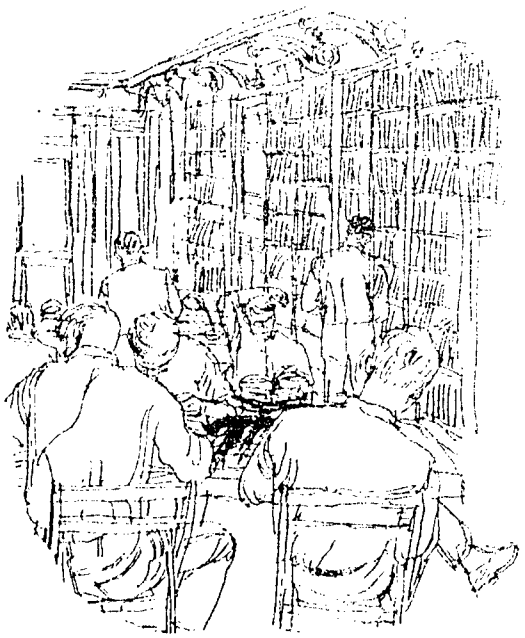

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AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
1900 Kenny Rd., Columbus, Ohio, 43210

The Center for Vocational and Technical Education has been established as an independent unit on The Ohio State University campus with a grant from the Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Education Research, U. S. Office of Education. It serves a catalytic role in establishing consortia to focus on relevant problems in vocational and technical education. The Center is comprehensive in its commitment and responsibility, multidisciplinary in its approach, and interinstitutional in its program.

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RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
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WORKER ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF YOUTH IN TRANSITION FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO WORK

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

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PREFACE

It is commonly acknowledged that the transition from school to work has become more problematic for a greater number of youth. There is an apparent need for research to further understanding of the school-to-work transition and for tested solutions for alleviating these impediments. This study attempted to identify and specify the nature of the high-school-to-work transitional experience, as revealed by 642 youthful workers, representing diverse levels of the occupational structure. Recommendations are made, which when implemented, have the potential to facilitate the adjustment of youth to the world of work.

This is The Center's fifth publication which focuses directly upon the worker adjustment problems of youth. Previous published reports are: *Worker Adjustment: Youth in Transition from School to Work; Problems in the Transition from High School to Work as Perceived by Vocational Educators; Changing the Response of Vocational Students to Supervision: The Use of Motion Pictures and Group Discussion;* and *Problems in the Transition from School to Work as Perceived by Youth Opportunity Counselors*. In particular, it is hoped these publications will stimulate others to develop solutions to this significant problem area.

Recognition for the preparation of this report is due A. P. Garbin, occupational sociologist (formerly on The Center staff and now at the University of Georgia); Jerome J. Salomone, Louisiana State University in New Orleans; Dorothy P. Jackson, research associate (now a faculty member, Department of Psychology, The Ohio State University); and John A. Ballweg, Virginia Polytechnic Institute. We also appreciate the efforts of the following persons who either reviewed the publication or assisted in the analysis of data: Edward J. Morrison, research coordinator, The Center; Frank H. Echols, Jr., research assistant, University of Georgia; Gary L. Faulkner, research assistant, University of Georgia; and Chandra M. Mehrotra, research associate, The Center (now at Educational Testing Service).

Special appreciation is extended to the young workers who provided the data on which this research is based.

Robert E. Taylor
Director
The Center for Vocational
and Technical Education

ABSTRACT

This study has investigated the impediments facing many youth in the transition from high school to work. The major purpose of the study is twofold: 1) to contribute descriptive data relative to the problems of worker adjustment; and 2) to make recommendations which, if implemented, have the potential to alleviate some of the obstacles impeding the transition of youth from school to work.

In the main, data were collected in three cities (Columbus, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; New Orleans, Louisiana), through interviews with 642 workers. The respondents represented four collar color-skill levels (white collar high, white collar low, blue collar high, blue collar low) and were in the 17 through 27 years age range.

The data focus on the following broad topics: from high school to full-time employment; motivations, rewards, and general evaluations relative to present jobs; relationships between workers and components of the work environment; attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns relating to work; and career patterns.

An expected contribution of this research includes the reporting of bench mark data on many aspects of the transitional process. This may be of interest to other researchers and may stimulate future research on youth in transition. In addition, the findings and recommendations may have relevancy to educational administrators, teachers, counselors, and industrial-business leaders who are concerned with facilitating the transition of youth from high school to work.

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I. INTRODUCTION

American society epitomizes a culture of work (Veblen, 1912; Anderson, 1964).[1] It is a culture that not only impels its adult males to work for a livelihood, but one that equates occupational accomplishment with "achievement and success" (Williams, 1951:390). "The whole occupational sphere," according to Parsons (1949:214), "is dominated by a single, fundamental goal, that of 'success'." It becomes a cultural imperative for the American male to identify with an occupation. As Becker and Carper (1956:341) state, "One of the most compelling instances of personal change and development in adult life in our society is to be found in the typical growth of an 'occupational personality' in the young adult male who, as he matures, takes over an image of himself as the holder of a particular specialized position in the division of labor." The fact that most males do work is readily apparent from examining labor force statistics. For instance, three-fourths of all males 14 years and older are labor force members and the proportion is greater than nine out of 10 for men between the ages of 20 and 34 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968:250).[2]

The transition from school to work reflects one of the most significant status changes experienced by the overwhelming majority of American males. Youth involved in this process are beset by obstacles resulting from the myriad socio-cultural changes that are taking place. Furthermore, the pace at which these changes are occurring is increasing rapidly (Garbin, Echols, 1970). It is evident that the school-to-work transition is becoming more problematic for many youth. In comparison to older workers, youthful labor force members have higher unemployment rates, greater accident rates, lower morale, and greater turnover rates.

Considering the importance attached to work, and the difficulty many youth have adjusting to their jobs and the work environment, it is surprising that research has not directed greater attention to attitudinal and behavioral phenomena relating to this transitional process. This study is designed to serve as a contribution to this relatively unexplored area.[3]

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[1]The culture of work versus non-work is considered in historical perspective by Veblen while Anderson describes the components of the contemporary work culture.

[2]Figures indicate that the highest percentage of work involvement is found for married men between the ages of 25 and 34 where 98.5 percent are members of the labor force.

[3]The paucity of information relevant to the youthful worker is apparent in an examination of the literature (cf. Garbin *et al.*, 1968).

This chapter examines the nature of the research problem, including comments on the problem statement, the significance of the problem, and objectives of the study. An overview is also presented of the content of subsequent chapters.

THE PROBLEM

The initial phase of most work careers is characterized by instability (Form, Miller, 1949). The novice worker must adjust his attitudes, values, and goals in such a manner that they are compatible with those of his fellow workers, his job expectations, and the work organization for which he is employed. Although the individual worker is expected to have certain technical skills before he can meet the formal demands of the job, the possession of these skills does not necessarily insure that he will be able to perform his work roles efficaciously. Within the socio-technical system of the job, there are many socio-psychological aspects which impinge on the adjustment process. In addition, there are numerous extra-work factors which may either serve to impede or promote worker adjustment. Research indicates (Fleishman, 1963; Ley, 1966) that youthful employees often fail on their jobs, not because they lack technical competencies, but because of the absence of skills relating to the nontechnical complex. Limited research in this country has been conducted wherein a common frame of orientation has been used to better understand worker adjustment problems in a diversity of settings.[4] Efforts to ascertain solutions which have the potential for alleviating these problems have been even fewer in number.

There is an apparent need to determine in a systematic and extensive manner the nature of these crucial problems, particularly those reflective of the nontechnical realm. Such information is necessary before it is feasible to introduce innovative changes in the formal educational experiences of students which would enhance their ability to realize a higher degree of "worker adjustment."

Succinctly stated, this research focuses on the adjustment problems young workers face in making the transition from school to work as they begin their occupational careers. The primary research interest includes the identification and specification of the nature, types, and intensity of the adjustment problems

[4] At the time of this research, it was our impression that no particularly relevant research had been conducted in the United States. Two pertinent studies (Carter, 1962; Carter, 1966) were made in England, and a third (Hall, McFarlane, 1962) in Canada.

perceived by youthful entrants in the work world. In addition, a major concern is to make suggestions and recommendations to educational administrators, teachers, and counselors, which when implemented, have the potential of better preparing youth to adjust to the world of work.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The relevance of this study rests on the widespread belief that personal adjustment is functional for both the individual and the society in general. This observation finds theoretical justification in the sociological postulate that the integration of parts is functional to the social system (Merton, 1956:25-28).

In the broadest sense, when changes occur in the socio-cultural environment, concomitant changes must be experienced by the individuals in that environment. If the changes are not compatible, both the individual and the social system are placed under certain stresses or strains. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the quantity and rate of socio-cultural change in the United States has been pronounced. These changes have been partially responsible for producing numerous incongruities between the social-psychological-technical attributes of individuals and the skill demands of the labor force. A sizeable number of these persons are youth who will be consigned to live in a society in which they will be unable to contribute in proportion to their human potential, nor receive in proportion to their need. Some of the more important socio-cultural changes are discussed below, with the view toward stressing the need for further analysis of these factors as they relate to worker adjustment.

EDUCATION AND WORK

When America was predominately rural and its economy was essentially agricultural, the transitional problems of youth were relatively uncomplicated (Wright, Corbett, 1940:86-98). The separation between work and non-work was not as visible then as now. As a part of their way of life, most youth were expected to perform work duties on the farm and the occupational inheritance of farming was characteristic of most labor force members. Consequently, few young people had to contend with the distinction between school and work. This distinction was primarily invented with the innovation and implementation of public mass-education in the 19th and 20th centuries. Whatever the benefits derivable from its inception, it is apparent that the school became an agent of intervention between work and non-work, thereby, creating and accentuating a separation between the two.

As young people move from school to work, they are moving from a subcultural setting where they are among their peer group equals and represent a numerical majority, to another subcultural setting where older workers have more power, prestige and privilege and where young workers constitute a minority. Consequently, becoming a worker requires numerous adaptations to the adult world. Higher education to some extent was established to ease entrance into the labor force and does facilitate the realization of this goal.

A basic function served by education is evident by observing that as educational attainment increases, there is a tendency for immediate and steady post-school employment to also increase. College graduates tend to experience little difficulty in locating jobs because they are relatively few in number and their skills are sought more aggressively in the competition for talent. In addition, the educational process tends to be selective of those persons with the greatest potential for occupational achievement. By contrast, persons who fail to complete an intended four-year course of study have no significant advantage over high school graduates. High school graduates enjoy no special advantage in the quest for jobs since their competitive advantage has been largely erased by the near realization of the goal of mass-secondary education. Finally, those who fail to complete high school find themselves at a distinct disadvantage in the labor market (Mangum, 1968:3).

Although the unemployment rate fluctuates and at times has dropped to less than four percent of the American labor force, job opportunities are unevenly distributed throughout the occupational structure. In particular, young workers are disproportionately overrepresented among the "structurally unemployed." Persons between the ages of 14 and 19, and 20 and 24 rank first and second as having the highest national unemployment rates. Their unemployment rates run two to three times higher than the national average. Given these statistics, it is understandable why this problem has attracted national attention. These inflated unemployment rates document the difficulty youth are having in making the transition from school to work and highlight the saliency of the problem on which this research focuses.

TECHNOLOGY AND WORK

Rising unemployment among youth can be partially explained by the fact that the demand for workers is determined by the technological needs of work organizations. Employment requirements are based upon such factors as the general economic situation and scientific and technological developments. The interaction between technology and the changing consumer behavior of a mass-consumption society is particularly suggestive in this respect (Killingsworth, 1966; Slocum, 1966).

Technological changes are responsible for most of the dramatic decline in agricultural workers, the more moderate decline of domestic and unskilled workers, the slight increase in semiskilled and skilled workers, the increasing demand for sales, clerical and service workers, and the spectacular increase in the need for professional, technical, and kindred workers. As the American occupational structure is reshaped by these quantitative and qualitative changes, the "opportunity structure" for young workers has been affected negatively. This is especially the case for youth without skills, trades, or college diplomas (Garbin *et al.*, 1967). In the first place, jobs requiring little skill and education are disappearing more rapidly than others; these were the work positions assumed previously by the unskilled and the uneducated. As automation continues to invade the economic community, many older workers find themselves without jobs and subsequently compete with youth for the few remaining unskilled and semiskilled jobs. All of this is occurring while a record-breaking number of teenagers attempt to enter the labor force about two decades after a substantial increase occurred in the birth rate.

ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS AND WORK

Contemporary youth must prepare for a life of work in large-scale organizations. In all the various occupational settings, such as mining, construction, production, transportation, wholesale, retail, finance, service and government, the uninterrupted trend is toward an increase in the size of occupational groups (Caplow, 1954). This aggregation process necessarily occurs in work settings which are bureaucratically organized. Since bureaucracies are highly structured authority networks, modern youth must be made aware of the need for coping with authority in organizational life (Gross, 1967). Although prior to work, youth have occupied subordinate positions in other contexts, e.g., the home and school, they also enjoyed the benefits of close, personal, primary contacts with parents and teachers. In the world of work, the inevitable clash between organizational demands and individual desires occurs without the modifying influence of friends or relatives.

A special problem encountered by youthful workers stems from the differential speed with which they are exposed to formal and informal work expectations. Youth first learn about the expectations of the formal organization as reflected in the organizational chart which is designed rationally for the purpose of achieving organizational goals. Somewhat later, they learn about the informal work group's demands, an inevitable by-product of the formal organization of industry, where influence replaces authority as the *sine qua non* of occupational adjustment. Without a proper accommodation to this informal structure, the young worker is subverted in many ways, from the withholding of "occupational

secrets" to the outright transmission of misinformation about the way a given job should be performed.

The basic difficulty of many youth is not that of finding a job, but in keeping one. They are often predisposed to develop negative occupational perceptions, based on their initial experiences with a formal, impersonal and bureaucratic work organization. As a result, the youthful worker may generalize from these early experiences and subscribe to a negative stereotype of work in general. Subsequently, many youth are faced with the problem of modifying their attitudes and underlying values about the entire work world. A failure to do this frequently results in the worker terminating his employment for less than justifiable reasons.

Unless the novice worker shares the values, attitudes, goals, beliefs and sentiments of his co-workers, who in the course of their daily work activity come to form an informal group, he will be denied many of the intangible rewards of his work. Conformity to the expectations of the informal group provides the worker with recognition, esteem and opportunities for self-expression. It permits him to gain and sustain membership in an all important occupational "ingroup." In fact, the informal group is the worker's "buffer" against the formalism and impersonality of the organization.

Before the worker is granted acceptance by other members of the informal organization, however, he must demonstrate by his actions that he has internalized some of the unofficial norms, folkways, customs, and habits of his co-workers. For example, he must abide by what his peers consider a "fair day's work"; he must heed the accepted channels of promotion; he must subscribe to the ongoing work restriction practices; and he must value work-group loyalty above all other occupational values.

Thus, in the work environment the young worker is enmeshed not only in his job, but also in the complex norm and value systems of the informal structure and, to a lesser extent, in those of the formal organizational structure. The conclusion seems inescapable that the transition toward an adequate work adjustment involves being subjected to a socialization process directed toward learning the "ways and means" of these two organizations.

Reconciling the organizational and contra-organizational characteristics of the work environment represents a major portion of the difficulty involved in the transition from school to work. An additional problem emerges from the fact that as youth move from a non-work status to a work status they automatically subject themselves to a whole range of new socio-cultural expectations. As students and adolescents, they are allowed parental dependency and a certain measure of frivolity, innocence, irresponsibility and fun. But as adults, they are required to be independent,

responsible, worldly, serious, and hard working. The discontinuities inherent in this status transformation magnify the problems facing youthful workers, and often result in an adjustment complex arising from what Dansereau (1961) terms "culture shock."

ASSOCIATIONAL FACTORS AND WORK

Another obstacle which the youthful worker must overcome is inherent in the tradition of occupational irresponsibility which he inherits from many of his co-worker peers. In several instances, they have preceded him into the plant, worked a short while, and left, leaving in the minds of the older workers an image of youthful occupational irresponsibility. The high job turnover rate characteristic of youth often is cited as another argument which suggests to older, tenured workers that modern youth are "going to the dogs."

Even when the young worker succeeds in alleviating the stereotypic image of youthful irresponsibility, his age operates as a factor impeding the school-to-work transition. Whereas he is young, his co-workers are comparatively older. As a result, it is too much to expect that he, and perhaps his young wife, could easily "fit in" with the other workers and their families. If he is married, he will have probably been married recently, and his marital interests and problems will likely be different from those of the more mature, and settled co-workers. Frequently, the young worker is unmarried and his extra-work behavior is often quite different from that of his fellow workers.

Workers who are beginning their occupational careers bring with them a youthful idealism characteristic of their outlook on life generally (Davis, 1940). It is often a demoralizing shock for them to realize, after varying lengths of employment, that their fondest hopes for occupational adventure and achievement will very likely be unrealized--that 20 to 30 years hence they probably will resemble in the most important respect their more senior co-workers. By extension, these older workers become the wellsprings of resentment for youth. Of course, older workers have seen many youth "come and go" and are cognizant of the change in attitudes which eventually transpires. The fact remains, however, that this attitudinal transformation from youthful idealism to adult realism often constitutes a source of worker conflict.

The choice of an occupation in which adjustment is achieved without great stress is extremely important to the individual. A worker's occupational role influences not only his work activities, but also his prestige, his sense of belonging, and his self-concept, all of which are critical to his adjustment. Furthermore, the worker's social class position, more than any other factor, is affected by the type of work he does. His social class

position, in turn, influences the life style of his immediate family, its health and longevity, the use of its leisure time, its social participation patterns, its political and religious behavior, its marital stability, its social values and attitudes, and innumerable other factors which are markedly influenced by the nature of the occupational pursuits of the breadwinner.[5]

PERSONAL FACTORS AND WORK

A widespread belief in the United States is that the talents and skills of all its people should be utilized to the uppermost possible limits. Because of this, it is said that "successful" occupational placement is highly significant in meeting both societal and personal needs. Manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training are constant governmental concerns. Many far-reaching federal programs are designed precisely to maximize the nation's efforts in developing a national climate in which joblessness and underemployment, inadequate earnings, inequality of opportunity, and the like, are held "within acceptable limits."[6] Thus, a major concern of American society is to maintain a proper balance of its population in the various occupations by providing those kinds of incentives which will motivate persons to meet the requirements and become incumbents of available occupational positions.

The worker's occupational role is critical because it allows him to perform nearly all of his other societal roles. It is the key role responsible for integrating him into society. A person's occupational role makes possible the fulfillment of his obligations as provider in the family and qualifies him in the eye of the community as a responsible and respectable citizen. Research indicates that men without work feel isolated, frustrated and lost. Even when they are relatively economically independent, as, for example, when they are approaching a well-provided-for retirement, the prospect of a life without work is a very disorienting anticipation (Bernard, 1957:292).

Many youthful workers are likely to be unaware of the major implications of their initial jobs, viewing them as only temporary,

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[5]For a comprehensive statement of information relating to this matter, consult Thomas Lasswell (1965).

[6]Some national manpower programs aimed at achieving these goals include: The Concentrated Employment Program, The CAMPS Program, Model Cities, Neighborhood Service Centers, the Special Impact Program, the Concerted Services Program, Human Resources Development, The Test Program, The Ten Cities Program, and The JOBS Program (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968).

and assigning little importance to them. Jobs may often represent money for them, and little else. If this is the case, then the negative attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns which are developed during this initial work period may continue into subsequent occupational statuses when work often assumes a greater importance (Garbin *et al.*, 1968; Meltzer, 1963). As a consequent, the youthful worker may become frustrated in his work, resulting in a highly unstable occupational career.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

There is great concern about the implications of youth leaving school for the world of work before they are sociologically and psychologically equipped for employment. For example, former President Johnson has recognized the need for "smoothing the transition from school to work.[7] In spite of the national awareness focused on the problems of youth, in transition from school to work, research has been negligent in examining those social-psychological factors which interfere with or prevent a facile transition from school to work. The scarcity of data relevant to the youthful worker has been noted previously. Much of the available information is purely speculative and superficial. There is a definite need for research efforts that, first of all, describe the major problems facing youth involved in the school-to-work transitional process, and secondly, that offer potentially useful solutions in the form of ameliorative recommendations to both the school and industry. The existence of these two needs served as the underlying objectives of the present research endeavor.

It should be apparent that the problems of youth in transition from school to work are extremely complex. As such, it must be emphasized that no single study could expect to provide all the answers required. It is hopeful that this research, by collecting and reporting bench mark data on many aspects of the problem, will stimulate and encourage future research on the subject of youth in transition.

ORDER OF PRESENTATION

The presentation of this publication has been divided into eight chapters. The initial chapter discusses the major socio-cultural changes occurring in American society which have compounded the problems besetting youth in their transition from

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[7] In an address given April 27, 1967, at a dedication ceremony for a new vocational-technical department at Crossland High School, Camp Springs, Maryland.

school to work. The significance of these problems and the objectives of the study are also developed.

Chapter II describes the research design and research execution. The principal concepts around which the study is organized, the interview schedule, and the sampling techniques are described under research design. The research execution portion of the chapter considers the pretesting and administration of the schedule, the processing of data, data analysis, data presentation, and, finally, a discussion of selected sample characteristics.

Chapter III, "From High School to Full-Time Employment," examines the educational status and related data of the respondents, the nature of linkage between school and work, the implications of employment during high school, and job seeking behavior.

Chapter IV focuses upon the young workers' evaluations of their present jobs.

Chapter V reports the relations as perceived by the worker between himself and major components of the work milieu--his job, worker colleagues, his supervisor, the formal organization, and the union.

The attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns of the sample members are summarized in Chapter VI. Findings are reported concerning aspirations, expectations, and achievements; knowledge-of-work factors and coping work behavior; responsibility, maturity, and self-discipline; and general attitudes and values concerning work.

Chapter VII examines various facets of the career patterns characteristic of the young workers.

The final chapter presents a summary of the findings and concentrates upon the implications of the findings for worker adjustment.

II. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE POPULATIONS

This chapter has three basic purposes. First, a brief summary is made concerning the background of the study. Second, a detailed review is given the research design and research execution. Third, a demographic description of the sample is presented.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This study is the final phase of a larger project concerned with the worker adjustment problems of youth in transition from school to work. Phase one involved an extensive and comprehensive review of recent literature on worker adjustment. The review was conducted to provide constructive clues in formulating important questions about the school-to-work transition and to guard against exploring issues which have been studied previously. An annotated bibliography (Garbin *et al.*, 1967) was compiled and published in the course of the review.

Phases two and three of the project focused upon the problems of youthful worker adjustment as perceived by vocational educators (Garbin *et al.*, 1967) and Youth Opportunity Center counselors (Eggeman *et al.*, 1969). These studies were helpful to the construction of a questionnaire to implement the present effort dealing with school-to-work transitional problems as perceived by youthful labor force members. In fact, these two surveys were pilot studies for the present research. They were conducted, primarily, to answer the question (Goode, Hatt, 1952:145), "How does the researcher formulate meaningful questions in areas where the literature is inadequate?"

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is discussed in terms of three major subjects which constitute the subdivisions into which this section is divided. These topics are designated as follows: concepts and definitions, interview schedule, and sampling.

CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

In order to assure comprehension of the concepts used in this report, terms that are basic to this study are defined at this time. Since the concepts of transition, adjustment, and career refer to behavioral phenomena that constitute the prime concern of this research, their definitions, together with several cautions about their interpretations, are now offered. Other concepts will be defined as they are introduced.

Transition is defined as a passage from one condition to another. For instance, there exist transitional sentences and paragraphs in prose, transitional notes in music, and transitional orientation programs in education. In each of these cases, the difference between what was and what is, or with what emerges, is a product of the passage from one condition to another. Viewed in this way, a transition is a "bridge" linking two conditions, things, or behaviors. Transitions are dynamic and perhaps, reversible processes; they can result in either adaptive or maladaptive outcomes. There is no guarantee that situations which demonstrate tendencies toward adaptation will necessarily continue in that direction; neither is the reverse impossible.

Adjustment refers both to a process and to a state or condition. Adjustment is the process wherein the parts of a system are integrated, thereby bringing them into a more effective alignment. It is likewise the state or condition which results when, for analytical purposes, the parts of the system are better integrated than they were at some prior point in time. By this definition, adjustments simultaneously are processes of becoming, which emerge, temporarily persist, and disappear with each successive experience. They are also states of being which result from a transition. This conceptualization imputes a temporal dimension to the relationship between the concepts of transition and adjustment. That is, at some point in the transitional period there was a period of non-adjustment (a floundering, or trial and error behavior), and at another point there was a period of adjustment (a resolution of discrepancies, conflict, or incongruencies)

Since this study is concerned with adjustments in an occupational system, the parts of the occupational system include: a) the individual who has recently experienced major changes in those statuses and roles associated with school, to those characteristic of work; and b) the positions the individual worker occupies in an economic organization, which include various role expectations and attendant sanctions for appropriate or inappropriate occupational behavior. On the microscopic level, this study focuses on socio-psychological impediments; that is, those factors associated with an imbalance in the relationship between a worker and his job, or components of the work milieu that pertain to his job. This imbalance arises out of the disparity between the needs and aspirations of the individual and the demands of the job. Of interest, also, are those impediments growing out of extra-job situations such as the family, the school and the community which, directly or indirectly, contribute to maladjusted worker-job relationships.

It is probably misleading to use the word adjustment in the singular, for many adjustments are required to make a satisfactory adaptation to a problematic situation. For instance, when the college freshman has adjusted to college, he has learned to

integrate his collegiate activities with his other life's activities. When a young couple has achieved an adequate adjustment in marriage, they have resolved successfully, at least as far as they are concerned, those areas of family life such as finances, sex, child care, and religion, which they perceived as problematic. Likewise, when a worker has adjusted to his work, he is reasonably satisfied with the nature of his work and the specific job for which he is responsible; he is content to perform his occupational duties within the existing organizational framework and under the current policies; he has developed attitudes toward work which are in relative harmony with his other attitudes. In short, he has reached an accommodation between his needs and desires and the technical-organizational demands of his work. In each instance just noted, it is evident that the adjustments required are numerous and complex, requiring simultaneously many adjustments in vocational, personal and social life.[1]

It is erroneous to speak of any type of adjustment as though it were something finite or permanent. While it is true that adjustment problems are especially acute during periods of status acquisition and status relinquishment, it is also true that adjustment problems persist throughout the time a status is occupied (Bierstedt, 1963:357-387). Consequently, occupational adjustments, like marital, scholastic, military and other adjustments, must be made at all stages of a career. As with other life adjustments (Kenkel, 1966), the earlier occupational adjustments are made, the greater the likelihood that future adjustments to work will successfully be accomplished.

The patterns of work adjustments of each individual become part of his occupational career which has been traditionally defined as: ". . . an orderly sequence of development extending over a period of years and involving progressively more responsible roles within an occupation" (Slocum, 1966:5). It is apparent as Slocum recognized, that many occupational careers do not conform to this definition. First, persons may have careers not characterized by movement from the lowest toward the highest rungs of the occupational ladder. It is entirely possible for workers to remain relatively stationary, or even to retrogress as a result of their own absolute decline or because of the ascendancy of

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[1]The literature on personal and social adjustment is extensive. Two representative references include books written by Landis (1963) and Crow (1967).

some other group within their occupational cluster.[2] Second, worker careers need not be restricted to employment within an occupation. Men occasionally move from their original occupational level in the rank-and-file into managerial positions. More frequently, during their tenure in the labor force, many unskilled laborers are successively employed in a number of jobs and in many industries, yet they still experience what can be described as occupational careers. For purposes of this study, an occupational career begins when a worker enters the world of work and it ends when he leaves it. The difficulty arises in attempting to determine the exact points where people enter and leave the work world. Nevertheless, within the minimum and maximum age limits, as they are defined by employers and governments throughout the United States, persons who are ready, willing, and able to work, whether working or not, are living out their occupational careers.

The concept of career has undergone substantial modifications during the last several decades. Traditionally, in this country, workers in nonagricultural jobs assumed employment in relatively small firms and remained with these employers throughout their productive years. The outstanding qualities of their "occupational personalities" were: success orientation and permanence of employment. Presently, the merits of tenure and seniority with large firms are emphasized because of the security they provide. Furthermore, Americans live in the most mobile society known to man. Americans are both geographically and vertically mobile, within the same firm and outside of it. Therefore, patterns of occupational careers typically involve employment in many large organizations. Thus, once individuals changed jobs because they moved, and they moved infrequently; presently, individuals move because they change jobs, and they do both frequently. Moving from place to place, from job to job, and from company to company, has become an integral part of the expected life cycle of a career. Consequently, it can no longer be assumed that periodic job changes are characteristic of people who have failed to make adequate occupational adjustments. Changing jobs may indicate that the mobile worker perceives occupational opportunities not seen by his immobile counterpart. The worker might move because he envisions new avenues of accessibility toward his aspired occupational goal.

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[2]Sequential behavior does not automatically imply a spiral ordering by which each new level is higher than the preceding one. Sequential behavior patterns can be horizontal, as well as vertical. Behavior at a particular level can be sequential if concepts and skills are learned, even though a higher and different level has not been attained. Therefore, an occupational career pattern can be sequential, following a normal order, without escalating to higher-order work levels.

The conceptual framework around which an empirical investigation is built gives direction to the kind of information collected in the field. As such, there is a logical link between the basic concepts and the principal data gathering instrument(s) utilized in an empirical study. Attention is now directed to that instrument.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Several general worker adjustment problems were identified by two pilot studies (Garbin *et al.*, 1967; Eggeman *et al.*, 1969). They became the focus around which a questionnaire was constructed. These areas included:

1. Job preparation--For example, lack of experience, unrealistic expectations, lack of basic job skills, and training.

2. Attitudes expressed in behavior or adjustment to situation--For example, immaturity, irresponsibility, disregard for personal appearance, and health habits.

3. Vocational behavior--For example, inaccuracy, absenteeism, tardiness, poor work habits, and inability to follow directions.

4. Personality variables--For example, individual differences, related needs, aspirations, values, and goals.

5. School program and services--For example, inadequate curriculum, teaching staff, guidance and placement services.

6. Family background--For example, socioeconomic status, parent's occupational aspirations, and lower-class attitudes.

A questionnaire was developed primarily to elicit information relating to these six worker adjustment categories.[3] In the construction of the questionnaire, particular attention was given to such topics as the nature of the processes characteristic of school-to-work transition, the respondent's evaluation of his job, the perceived organizational characteristics of the work environment, worker aspirations and expectations, the attitudes of the worker toward work and working, the worker's perception of such attributes as responsibility, maturity and self-discipline, his

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[3]See Appendix for a copy of the basic data gathering instrument.

knowledge of the real demands of the job, worker behavior in coping with the demands of his work, supervisor-employee relations, and data relative to the respondent's personal, educational, and occupational background. In the main, the questions were highly structured and of the forced-choice type. This type of question was particularly useful because the pilot study produced many leads for establishing categories into which the respondents' answers could be classified. Some open-ended questions were used when free and spontaneous expressions of opinions were sought.

SAMPLING

The three cities chosen for inclusion in the study were: Columbus, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; and New Orleans, Louisiana. The major reason for selecting these cities was that facilities and personnel for conducting this inquiry were located there. However, it is likely that the identification of sample members residing in these areas did result in greater generalizability of findings.

It should be noted that the cities are located in three geographical areas, far enough apart to encompass broad regional dissimilarities that may exist. Furthermore, each city has a variety of businesses and industries, and is not under the dominance of any single industry such as lumber, mining, or textile manufacturing.[4] Thus, these cities are appropriate for a study of diverse organizational settings in which a significant number of youthful workers are employed. None of these cities has an unusually high rate of youthful employment, and the work organizations within each city employ a normal age range of workers. In addition, the sample cities are not under duress from recent post-war overexpansion, they do not exhibit any abnormal inward or outward migration pattern, and none has increased greatly its population in recent years.

In each of the cities, four types of workers were sought for inclusion in the study: a) white collar, high skill; b) white collar, low skill; c) blue collar, high skill; and d) blue collar, low skill.

White collar workers work in offices, their work behavior is more mental than physical, and it usually is oriented around

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[4]Although New Orleans is the second largest port city in the United States, its imports and exports are diversified and include the products of a multitude of businesses. The area also has a variety of industries that depend upon the economic benefits derivable from the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River Delta.

"people, paperwork and office management." The nature of the work performed by blue collar workers is basically manual rather than mental. Their work behavior is typically oriented around "things" in a shop setting.

Individuals in high skill and low skill occupations are differentiated on the basis of the index used by The Bureau of the Census (1952). Consequently, professional, technical and kindred workers, managers, officials and proprietors, and farm owners are classified as white collar, high skill; sales workers, clerical and kindred workers are considered as white collar, low skill; craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers are typed as blue collar, high skill; and operatives and kindred workers, service workers, and laborers, including farm laborers, are considered blue collar, low skill. A panel of three judges assigned each respondent to a collar-color and skill-level category according to the title and description of his job. Examples of some specific job titles and the occupational categories into which they were classified are:

White Collar, High Skill	White Collar, Low Skill
Analysts	Clerks
Draftsmen	Claim Adjusters
Accountants	Underwriters
Auditors	Salesmen
Supervisors	Billing Agents
Blue Collar, High Skill	**Blue Collar, Low Skill**
Machinists	Welders
Repairmen	Machine Operators
Tool and Dye Makers	Truck Drivers
Foremen	Linemen

Employers were surveyed in the three cities to identify organizations, fairly comparable as to division of labor, complexity, and size, which employed the required types of employees. One of the difficulties was to locate single organizations employing a sufficient number of workers to approximate the desired subsample sizes. This criterion was compromised in that it sometimes was necessary to use more than one organization within a city in order to have comparable sample sizes for the four occupational categories.

It was decided initially to include only males between the ages of 18 and 25 in the study. However, in a limited number of cases, the upper age limit was extended to 27 because of the

unavailability of a sizeable number of younger workers in the cooperating organizations. Females were excluded because they are characterized by different occupational career patterns.[5] As much as possible, an attempt was made to select for inclusion in the study representatives of those occupations for which there are vocational educational curricula and in which there is a strong and continuing demand in business, industry, and government.

Lists of names and addresses of male employees between the ages of 18 and 25 were provided by the cooperating employers. In every case except one, all of each company's employees eligible for inclusion in the study were also included in the sample, so that the sample population was identical to the universe from which the sample was drawn. In the remaining case, the company made available a list of names drawn randomly from among all of the eligible employees.[6]

The organizations used in the study are private manufacturing companies (both light and heavy industrial fabricators), transportation, communication, utilities, and insurance firms.

The identity of each company remained confidential and the workers were not informed that they were chosen because of their affiliation with the company. This was done to protect the company against any problems that might emerge because they had provided the names and addresses of their employees to the researchers. Two other justifications for insuring anonymity should also be mentioned: 1) youthful participants must be willing to answer questions truthfully, without fear that their responses will be shown to the employer; and 2) workers should not feel coerced into cooperating because they perceive participation as an organizational demand. By keeping the organization's role a confidential matter, these kinds of problems were avoided.

RESEARCH EXECUTION

At the beginning of this section are two separate considerations bearing on the schedule used to collect data for this research. More specifically, the discussions pertain to pretesting

[5]See a report pertaining to this problem area by Sylvia L. Lee *et al.* (1967).

[6]It was suggested originally that a complete list of the eligible employees be given to the authors so that they might draw the sample randomly. The company preferred that they do the sampling following the advice of the authors. The company was asked to use the random numbers technique in drawing the sample from the applicable statistical frame.

and administering the schedule. The next two subsections focus on data processing and analyses and the presentation of data.

PRETESTING THE SCHEDULE

After the questionnaire was developed and the sampling strategy designed, the instrument was pretested in each of the three cities to determine whether the questions were understandable and meaningful, to check the appropriateness of the response categories, and to determine the amount of time necessary to complete the questionnaire. A total of 18 interviews were conducted, six in each of the cities. The pretest experience indicated that certain modifications in the original questionnaire were necessary. The original list of questions was too long and three pages of questions were subsequently deleted by incorporating and condensing individual items into other questions. Certain omissions were noticed which necessitated framing additional questions to encompass these areas. The pilot study revealed that several questions required rewording. The original order of item presentation created a certain amount of response set and "defenses" on the part of the interviewees. The items wer rearranged to alleviate these contaminating conditions. A series of eight response cards was developed to expedite the interview. The respondent referred to a card when the response choices were: a) used for more than one item; b) particularly difficult to remember without constant repetition; or c) sufficently as to cause some individuals to hesitate in responding or to experience some embarrassment (i.e., items that request the worker's salary, and educational background). After the deletions, additions, and modifications were made, the final instrument contained 95 questions and was capable of being administered in approximately 40 minutes (see Appendix).

ADMINISTERING THE SCHEDULE

The plan of the study was to have trained personnel interview all individuals in the sample. However, a few employees commuted great distances, in some instances more than 200 miles. These people would drive home on their off-days, but maintained temporary quarters in rooming houses in the cities where they were employed. The employer's personnel files listed the worker's permanent home address, which were given to the authors as the place to contact the workers. It was not feasible, from the standpoints of time and money, to send interviewers out great distances for these interviews. Therefore, questionnaires identical in content to the interview schedules, were mailed to these workers. Approximately seven percent of the respondents in this study completed self-administered questionnaires. The other respondents were questioned individually in a face-to-face situation by trained interviewers.

"The Manual for Interviewers," prepared initially by the Institute for Social Research, The Florida State University, was used in training field workers. Special instructions were prepared for use with the interview schedule. In addition to these training aids, sessions were held prior to entering the field with all the interviewers and "dry runs" were conducted, with interviewers interviewing each other to familiarize themselves with the items on the schedule. Problems discovered at this time were resolved through consultation with one of the authors who directed the training programs in the various cities.

Interviews were begun in the three locations in April and continued through July 1968. Before any prospective respondent was contacted for the purpose of being interviewed, a letter had been received from The Center for Vocational and Technical Education, informing him of the objectives of the study and soliciting his cooperation. This letter was useful in establishing the legitimacy of both the study and the interviewer when the respondent was personally contacted three or four days later.

DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSES

The first step taken in processing the data was to code the individual responses on transcription sheets. With few exceptions, the data were numerically categorized, involving little arbitrary judgement by the coder, because the response alternatives were pre-coded on the schedule.

The data were processed by electronic computer to produce for each response option a frequency count and percentage count for the following groupings of respondents:

1. All respondents;
2. By collar color and skill level (white collar high, white collar low, blue collar high, and blue collar low);
3. By collar color-skill level and educational type (general, academic, and vocational);
4. By whether or not high school training is used on present job and educational type;
5. By age and collar color-skill level;
6. By community (Columbus, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; and New Orleans, Louisiana) and collar color-skill level;
7. By educational level (years of attainment) and collar color-skill level; and

8. Marital status and collar color-skill level.[7]

Cumulative frequency distributions were compared using the Kolmogorov-Smirnof one-sample test and accepting the .05 level of confidence for statistical significance. In some comparisons, the chi-square statistic was used to test significance, also at the .05 confidence level.[8]

DATA PRESENTATION

In the main, the data presented in this report represent the percentage distributions of responses provided by the composite sample and those of the occupational subsamples into which the workers are categorized. This seems justified for three basic reasons. First, there is a far greater tendency for the differences in responses between the occupational groups to be statistically significant and for the relative distributions to reflect a fairly consistent pattern. Second, most of the statistically significant differences appear also to be sociologically relevant. Third, the occupational controls seem to yield new and additional insights more directly related to program development in vocational-technical education.

As will be shown in the next section (see Table 2.5), considerable variation characterize the proportions of young workers in each collar color-skill level subgroup, for each of the three cities. Consequently, city-to-city comparisons would be meaningless and will not be made when the findings of this research are presented.

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[7]It should be noted cross-tabulations were not determined, controlling for racial categories (white and nonwhite). Previous empirical data and theoretical considerations suggested collar color-skill level should constitute the major control variable. In general, it would not have been meaningful to compare data among the four collar color-skill level subgroups and control simultaneously for racial category because 35 of the 48 nonwhite respondents are in the blue collar-low skill category. Whereas nonwhites represent 10.2 percent of the blue collar low group, they represent percentages of 1.2, 3.0, and 8.0 of the blue collar high, white collar high, and white collar low subgroups, respectively. Preliminary inspection of some of the response patterns, by racial category and within the blue collar low subgroup, did not reveal a fairly consistent distribution pattern, nor many statistically significant differences.

[8]Although we realize these tests of significance may be inappropriate, given the limitations of our sampling procedures, they may be used as rough indicators of whether or not the observed differences are trivial.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE POPULATION

Table 2.1 shows that data were collected from 642 workers, with 255 from Columbus, 233 from Omaha, and 154 from New Orleans. All respondents were young men who ranged in age from 17 to 27 years with a median of 23 years.

Table 2.2 indicates that a larger proportion of high-skilled respondents of both the white and blue collar groups were in the older age categories than were the low-skilled respondents who were concentrated in middle range of the distributions.

In Table 2.3, it is seen that in addition to being relatively young, the respondents were predominantly white; only 48, or 7.5 percent of the sample were nonwhites. The ratio of nonwhite to white respondents was highest in New Orleans and lowest in Omaha.

The data in Table 2.4 shows that nonwhites held more jobs requiring low skills, regardless of collar color, than expected from their proportionate representation in the sample. The converse was true of the white workers.

The occupational distribution of the sample by city also displayed some noticeable differences. This would be expected because for the sample as a whole the proportionate representation of workers in each of the four occupational groups vary considerably from one another. The findings presented in Table 2.5 indicate that 15.4 percent of the workers were engaged in high skilled white collar occupations, 17.4 percent performed low skilled white collar tasks, and 13.9 percent held highly skilled blue collar jobs, but over one-half of the sample (53.3 percent) were engaged in low skilled blue collar tasks. Thus, although the sample contained nearly equal proportions of high skilled and low skilled white collar workers, low skilled blue collar workers exceeded high skilled blue collar workers by a considerable margin.

The New Orleans segment of the sample contained a greater proportion of white collar workers (57.8 percent) than was reported for either Columbus (17.7 percent) or Omaha (33.0 percent). Cross tabulation indicated that the New Orleans white collar workers were generally older than the blue collar residing in the same city and accounted for a major portion of the 26 and 27 year old members of the sample population.

As shown in Table 2.6, a majority of subjects in the three communities were married. The percentage of married respondents was 70.2 percent for Columbus, 60.1 percent for Omaha, and 51.9 percent for New Orleans. Generally, married respondents were older than single persons and were represented in a slightly higher proportion among blue collar than white collar workers. While single respondents represented slightly over one-third of the sample (35.5 percent), only 2.4 percent were divorced, separated or widowed.

TABLE 2.1

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

Years of Age	Columbus		Omaha		New Orleans		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 18	1	.4	2	.9	4	2.6	7	1.1
18-19	18	7.0	24	10.3	22	14.3	64	10.0
20-21	40	15.7	54	23.2	43	27.9	137	21.4
22-23	100	39.1	61	26.1	33	21.4	194	30.2
24-25	89	35.0	82	35.2	14	9.1	185	28.8
26-27	7	2.8	10	4.3	37	24.0	54	8.4
No response	0	0	0	0	1	.7	1	.2
TOTAL	255	100.0	233	100.0	154	100.0	642	100.1

TABLE 2.2

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Years Of Age	White Collar High		White Collar Low		Blue Collar High		Blue Collar Low		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 18	0	0	1	.9	1	1.1	5	1.4	7	1.1
18-19	4	4.0	17	15.2	3	3.4	40	11.7	64	10.0
20-21	11	11.1	21	18.8	18	20.2	87	25.4	137	21.4
22-23	23	23.3	39	34.9	30	33.7	102	29.9	194	30.2
24-25	28	28.3	31	27.7	32	36.0	94	27.5	185	28.8
26 and over	33	33.3	3	2.7	5	5.6	13	3.8	54	8.4
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.3	1	.2
TOTAL	99	100.2	112	100.2	89	100.0	342	100.0	642	100.1

TABLE 2.3

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RACE AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

Race	Columbus		Omaha		New Orleans		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
White	235	92.2	223	95.7	136	88.3	594	92.5
Nonwhite	20	7.8	10	4.3	18	11.7	48	7.5
TOTAL	255	100.0	233	100.0	154	100.0	642	100.0

TABLE 2.4

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RACE AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

(N=642)

Race	White Collar High		White Collar Low		Blue Collar High		Blue Collar Low		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
White	96	97.0	103	92.0	88	98.8	307	89.8	594	92.5
Nonwhite	3	3.0	9	8.0	1	1.2	35	10.2	48	7.5
TOTAL	99	100.0	112	100.0	89	100.0	342	100.0	642	100.0

TABLE 2.5

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

Community	White Collar High		White Collar Low		Blue Collar High		Blue Collar Low		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Columbus	19	7.5	26	10.2	49	19.2	161	63.1	255	100.0
Omaha	27	11.6	50	21.4	33	14.2	123	52.8	233	100.0
New Orleans	53	34.4	36	23.4	7	4.5	58	37.7	154	100.0
TOTAL	99	15.4	112	17.4	89	13.9	342	53.3	642	100.0

TABLE 2.6

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

Marital Status	Columbus		Omaha		New Orleans		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Single	69	27.1	92	39.5	67	43.5	228	35.5
Married	179	70.2	140	60.1	80	51.9	399	62.1
Separated	1	.4	0	0	4	2.5	5	.8
Divorced	6	2.3	1	.4	1	.7	8	1.2
Widower	0	0	0	0	1	.7	1	.2
No response	0	0	0	0	1	.7	1	.2
TOTAL	255	100.0	233	100.0	154	100.0	642	100.0

Table 2.7 reports that over 60 percent of the sample members lived with a spouse. Several married subjects had not moved their spouse to the community where they worked and were living alone or with friends at the time of the survey. These were usually employees who had recently accepted employment in the area after migrating from some other community. Single persons more frequently lived with parents than any other type of residential arrangement. Of the single persons in the sample, 81 percent lived with parents. There appeared to be a trend for the younger employees to live with parents and to establish independent residence after they had spent some time in the labor force; younger workers who migrated to the area were an exception to this rule.

Table 2.8 has been prepared to show the distribution of the sample according to years of education, controlling for occupational groups. It is apparent that a vast majority of the respondents were at least high school graduates. In fact, 30.5 percent of the sample had from one to three years of college, and another 8.1 percent were college graduates. Whereas small percentages of the two blue collar groups had completed college, over one-fourth and about one-sixth of the high and low skilled white collar respondents, respectively, reported having graduated from college. Most of the non-high school graduates are members of the blue collar groups.

In order to assess differences in educational preparation, respondents were separated into categories according to the curriculum pursued in high school. Data presented in Table 2.9 indicate that the largest number of students reported an academic or college preparatory curriculum with a "general" course of study and "vocational" training following in that order. Only 12 respondents (1.9 percent) either did not attend high school or their period of high school training was so brief that no curriculum was selected.

A comparison is shown in Table 2.10 of the respondents' income levels for the three communities. While incomes are distributed with the greatest number in the middle ranges, several differences were noted for individual communities. For example, nearly one-tenth of the New Orleans workers received less than $3,000 per year, which is more than 10 times the rate for Columbus subjects and more than double the rate for Omaha respondents. However, it also was reported that slightly more than one-tenth (11.7 percent) of the New Orleans respondents received more than $10,000 per year. For Columbus, the percentage of respondents in the over $10,000 category was 3.5 and, for Omaha, 2.1.

TABLE 2.7

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

Place of Residence	Columbus		Omaha		New Orleans		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Spouse	174	68.3	139	59.6	74	48.0	387	60.3
Parents	59	23.1	63	27.0	63	40.9	185	28.9
Relatives	3	1.2	3	1.3	4	2.6	10	1.6
Friends	6	2.4	14	6.0	2	1.3	22	3.4
Alone	9	3.5	9	3.9	7	4.6	25	3.8
Other	4	1.5	5	2.2	4	2.6	13	2.0
TOTAL	255	100.0	233	100.0	154	100.0	642	100.0

TABLE 2.8

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

(N=642)

Education	White Collar High		White Collar Low		Blue Collar High		Blue Collar Low		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 8 years	0	0	0	0	2	2.2	6	1.8	8	1.3
Grade school graduate (8 years)	0	0	0	0	1	1.1	9	2.6	10	1.6
Some high school (1-3 years)	1	1.0	1	.9	6	6.7	53	15.5	61	9.5
High school graduate	11	11.1	26	23.2	31	34.8	148	43.3	216	33.6
Some post-high school	9	9.1	6	5.4	9	10.1	16	4.7	40	6.2
Completed post-high school	18	18.2	7	6.3	10	11.2	22	6.4	57	8.9
Some college (1-3 years)	35	35.4	54	48.2	28	31.5	79	23.1	196	30.5
College graduate	25	25.3	18	16.1	1	1.1	8	2.4	52	8.1
No response	0	0	0	0	1	1.1	1	.3	2	.3
TOTAL	99	100.1	112	100.1	89	99.8	342	100.1	642	100.0

TABLE 2.9

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

High School Curriculum	Columbus		Omaha		New Orleans		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Academic	118	46.3	127	54.5	49	31.8	294	45.8
General	99	38.8	71	30.5	75	48.7	245	38.1
Vocational	36	14.1	34	14.6	21	13.6	91	14.2
No response	2	.8	1	.4	9	5.9	12	1.9
TOTAL	255	100.0	233	100.0	154	100.0	642	100.0

TABLE 2.10

SAMPLE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ANNUAL INCOME AND COMMUNITY

(N=642)

Annual Income	Columbus		Omaha		New Orleans		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$3000 or less	2	.8	9	3.9	14	9.1	25	3.9
$3000 - $3999	12	4.7	14	6.0	18	11.7	44	6.9
$4000 - $4999	18	7.1	20	8.6	30	19.5	68	10.6
$5000 - $5999	38	14.9	49	21.0	25	16.2	112	17.4
$6000 - $6999	60	23.4	66	28.3	18	11.7	144	22.4
$7000 - $7999	67	26.3	44	18.9	15	9.7	126	19.6
$8000 - $8999	28	11.0	13	5.6	6	3.9	47	7.3
$9000 - $9999	15	5.9	9	3.9	6	3.9	30	4.7
$10,000 or over	9	3.5	5	2.1	18	11.7	32	5.0
Refused	6	2.4	4	1.7	4	2.6	14	2.2
TOTAL	255	100.0	233	100.0	154	100.0	642	100.0

A partial explanation of these income differences can be found by a comparison of Table 2.5 with Table 2.10. The New Orleans segment of the population contained a higher proportion of employees with high skilled white collar occupations and also a greater number of low skilled blue collar workers. Thus, a disproportionate number of high and low incomes would also be expected.

Table 2.11 describes in the income distribution of the 642 young workers according to occupational subgroups. On the average, white collar low respondents made less money than the other three occupational groups. Also, annual earnings for the white collar high workers is greater than for blue collar high employees.

TABLE 2.11

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ANNUAL INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Annual Income	Occupational Category			
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)
3,000 or less	1.0	5.4	0.0	5.3
3,000 - 3,999	4.0	17.0	1.1	5.8
4,000 - 4,999	4.0	17.9	4.5	11.7
5,000 - 5,999	7.1	15.2	16.9	21.3
6,000 - 6,999	18.2	24.1	23.6	22.8
7,000 - 7,999	20.2	17.9	24.7	18.7
8,000 - 8,999	12.1	1.8	10.1	7.0
9,000 - 9,999	11.1	0.0	5.6	4.1
10,000 or over	21.2	0.0	6.7	1.5
No response	1.0	.9	6.7	1.8
TOTAL	99.9	100.2	99.9	100.0

III. FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT

A logical point of departure for a study focusing upon the problems of youthful worker adjustment is to explore matters bearing on the transition of youth from a student status to a full-time worker status. With this in mind, the subsequent paragraphs contain data that pertain to four interrelated areas--educational status, linkage between school and work, implications of high school employment, and job seeking behavior.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

The first section addresses itself to the level of education attained by the sample members and their parents and the reasons cited by the workers why they terminated their formal education when they did.

INTERGENERATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

An examination of the educational status of the sample members and their parents reveals the respondents as a group completed more years of formal education than either group of parents. Table 3.1 shows that less than one-fourth of either fathers or mothers, but over one-half of the respondents had pursued education in some form beyond high school. Compared with the respondents, about three times as many fathers and mothers did not graduate from high school. It should be noted that although roughly one-third of the respondents had attended a college or university, only one-twentieth of them were college graduates.

These data also were analyzed by controlling for the occupational type and skill level of the respondent. The results of this analysis, shown in Table 3.2, indicate that respondents in each of the four occupational groups achieved a higher educational status as a group than did fathers or mothers. More white than blue collar workers achieved post-secondary levels of education. In addition, within each collar color, the higher the skill level, the greater the proportion of students having post-secondary formal education. A greater percentage of parents of white collar workers attended some educational institution beyond high school than did the parents of blue collar workers; and the parents of the high skilled groups of both collar colors also had a greater amount of formal education than the parents of either low skilled group.

TABLE 3.1

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND THAT OF THEIR PARENTS

Parent or Respondent	Educational Attainment Level				Total Sample (N=642)
	Some High School or Less	Graduated from High School	More than High School	No Response	
Father	42.1	29.0	22.5	6.2	99.8
Mother	34.2	42.8	18.8	4.0	99.8
Respondent	12.3	33.6	53.7	.3	99.9

TABLE 3.2

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND THAT OF THEIR PARENTS, BY RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Parent and Respondent	Educational Attainment	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N = 642)
		White Collar High (N = 99)	White Collar Low (N = 112)	Blue Collar High (N = 89)	Blue Collar Low (N = 342)	
Father	Some High School or Less	40.5	37.5	39.3	45.0	42.1
Mother		30.3	26.8	36.0	37.5	34.2
Respondent		1.0	.9	10.0	19.9	12.3
Father	Graduate High School	20.2	30.4	32.6	30.1	29.0
Mother		44.4	38.4	43.8	43.6	42.8
Respondent		11.1	23.2	34.8	43.3	33.6
Father	Some Post-High Vocational School	10.2	6.3	3.3	3.6	4.9
Mother		6.0	6.3	3.3	6.4	5.9
Respondent		27.3	11.7	21.3	11.1	15.1
Father	Some College or Grad.	26.3	24.1	18.0	12.9	17.6
Mother		18.1	27.7	12.3	6.8	12.9
Respondent		60.7	64.3	32.6	25.5	38.6
Father	Total Post-High School or College	36.5	30.4	21.3	16.5	22.5
Mother		24.1	34.0	15.6	13.2	35.4
Respondent		88.0	70.0	53.9	36.6	53.7
Father	No Response	3.0	1.8	6.7	8.5	6.2
Mother		1.0	.9	4.5	5.8	4.0
Respondent		0.0	0.0	1.1	.3	.3

Five of the six comparisons of occupational groups on educational attainment were significant at the .05 level.[1] The only insignificant difference resulted when the white collar low group was compared with the white collar high category.

REASONS FOR TERMINATING FORMAL EDUCATION

In order to explore some of the dynamics underlying the termination of formal schooling, the young employees were asked to specify "What was the most important reason why you decided to end your education when you did?"

Table 3.3 reveals no specific response was selected by a significant proportion of the workers. "Wanted to work," "couldn't afford college," or "disliked school" each was identified by 14 to 15 percent of the sample, with an additional 11.5 percent who said they terminated their education because they "had to work."

If the explanations are subsumed under three broad categories, as shown in Table 3.3, roughly the same ratio, or about one out of three in each case, identified what has been described as "explanations beyond individual control" or "motivational explanations." As one goes from the white collar high subgroup to the blue collar low grouping, there is a definite tendency for the proportion of respondents who offered "motivational explanations" to increase. The high skilled groups, regardless of collar color, cited "explanations beyond individual control" at about the same rate; low skilled respondents gave similar explanations at about the same proportion.

LINKAGE BETWEEN SCHOOL AND WORK

Findings discussed under this topic pertain to the following: the program of study the workers pursued while in high school; the perceived relevance of their high school training to the workers' present jobs; recommendations concerning a program of study for an entering high school student who aspires to be in the same line of work as the respondent; and the perceived academic quartile rankings of the youthful employees during their past academic careers.

TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL PREPARATION

It is apparent that a facile transition by young workers is partially dependent upon whether or not they have the type and

[1] Unless specified otherwise, the Kolgomorov-Smirnof test was used to determine if observed differences were significant.

TABLE 3.3

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE REASONS THEY CITED FOR TERMINATING THEIR EDUCATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What was the most important reason why you decided to end your education when you did?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Explanations Beyond Individual Control					
Had to work	13.1	12.5	7.9	11.7	11.5
Couldn't afford it	19.2	16.1	21.3	10.8	14.5
Lack of ability	4.0	.9	5.6	2.9	3.1
Military service	9.1	8.0	10.1	8.5	8.7
Subtotal	45.4	37.5	44.9	33.9	37.8
Motivational Explanations					
Wanted to work	16.2	13.4	13.5	15.8	15.1
Disliked school	6.1	9.8	13.5	19.6	14.9
No particular reason	5.1	6.3	3.4	7.6	6.4
Subtotal	27.4	29.5	30.4	43.0	36.4
Miscellaneous/No response					
Miscellaneous	27.3	33.0	24.7	22.5	25.4
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	.6	.3
Subtotal	27.3	33.0	24.7	23.1	25.7
Grand Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

quality of high school education or training that prepared them for this transitional experience. Information about the type of educational preparation characteristic of the 642 young workers was derived. Approximately one-half (46 percent) of the sample participated in an academic or college oriented course of study, more than one-third (38 percent) in a general course and a very small percent (14.2) majored in a vocational program.

Educational preparation was also analyzed, controlling for each of the occupational subgroups. Table 3.4 reveals that for both white collar levels and the high skilled blue collar group, from one-half to two-thirds of their members participated in an academic program. Approximately one-half of the blue collar low interviewees had majored in a general program of study while in high school. In both white collar subsamples, 10 percent or less had majored in a vocationally oriented course of study. Vocationally oriented preparations were pursued to the greatest proportionate extent by members of the two blue collar groups. When a comparison was made between the blue collar groups, the choice of program was statistically significant, although one-fifth, or less, of each skill level majored in an area of vocational study.[2] Other significant differences were attained when both white collar levels were compared to the blue collar low skill group.

In summation, high school program and job category are significantly related. White collar workers have vocational preparation on the high school level less frequently than do blue collar workers. Blue collar highs have fewer "general" students and more academic and vocational students than do blue collar lows.

PERCEIVED UTILITY OF EDUCATIONAL PREPARATION

The sample members responded to another question that sought to determine the use and relevance of their high school training in their present job. The sample was approximately evenly divided as to whether they presently use their high school training in connection with their present jobs; 52.2 percent responded in the affirmative, 45.9 percent replied negatively, and 1.9 percent were "not sure."

The responses to this item were also analyzed according to the collar color and skill level of the young workers (see Table 3.5). The blue collar low group reported their high school training least related to their employment. A recall of the results of Table 3.4 indicates that only 15 percent of this group had a vocational major, even though they were in lines of work that were

[2] It is to be recalled that the .05 level of confidence was accepted for statistical significance.

TABLE 3.4

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR MAJOR COURSE OF STUDY IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Course of Study	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Academic	64.6	60.7	52.8	33.6	45.8
General	25.3	29.5	25.8	48.1	38.1
Vocational	10.1	9.8	20.2	15.2	14.2
No response	0.0	0.0	1.1	3.2	1.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0

TABLE 3.5

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY USE THEIR HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING ON THEIR PRESENT JOBS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Do you use this (high school) training on your present job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	78.8	67.0	51.7	39.8	52.2
No	21.2	32.1	46.1	57.6	45.9
No response	0.0	.9	2.2	2.6	1.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

basically factory or machine oriented at the time of the survey. The blue collar high workers were fairly evenly divided as to whether or not they presently apply the skills they learned while in high school. One-fifth of this group had a vocational major, and one-half of them had a general major as their educational preparation. Two-thirds of the white collar lows and three-fourths of the white collar highs indicated their high school training was related to their present work. When both white collar groups were compared to the blue collar low group, the differences are statistically significant. Comparison of Tables 3.4 and 3.5 leads to the conclusion that general and academic high school preparation was considered more useful in white collar than blue collar jobs.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

The sample members were asked to recommend a course of study for an entering high school student who aspired to be in the same line of work as the respondent. The response pattern to the question, "Would you suggest he enter your course of study?," was as follows: 52.3 percent said "yes"; 45.8 percent responded "no"; and 1.9 percent of the 642 interviewees did not respond.

A total of 295 respondents who did not recommend the program of study they had pursued while in high school were asked to suggest an alternative to the entering high schooler. Over one-half of these young workers (58 percent) indicated that a vocational curriculum would best prepare entering high school students for the respondent's type of work. In contrast, 22 percent and 14 percent, respectively, identified academic and general courses of study; no opinion was offered by six percent of this group.

The data relative to whether or not the young workers would recommend the same course of high school study they had taken for a person aspiring to perform the same kind of work as the respondent were also examined, controlling for occupational skill level; the findings are presented in Table 3.6. The higher the skill level of the respondent, the greater was his tendency to recommend the program of study he had pursued while in high school. The response pattern was significantly different for the white collar high group when compared both to the blue collar low respondents and to the blue collar high workers. The white collar low group responses were also significantly different from those offered by the blue collar low respondents.

The 295 respondents who said they would not recommend their high school program of study were separated into the four technological groups. An examination of these data indicated that over two-thirds of the blue collar low group favored a vocational major, and approximately one-half of the more skilled blue collar

group recommended a vocational program for the entering student. For the white collar low technology group, although more than one-third recommended a vocational major, approximately one-half recommended an academic preparation. An analysis of the white collar high group reveals the reverse pattern. Slightly less than one-half of this subgroup recommended a vocational area for study, whereas one-third of the respondents suggested a major in an academic program.

TABLE 3.6

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY WOULD RECOMMEND SAME HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"If someone was planning to eventually pursue the same job you have, and he was just entering high school, would you suggest that he enter the same major course of study that you did?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	71.7	64.3	49.4	43.0	52.0
No	28.3	34.8	50.6	53.5	45.9
No response	0.0	.9	0.0	3.5	2.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

ACADEMIC SELF-APPRAISALS

When asked how well they did in high school, workers reported their quartile standings as shown in Table 3.7. Most of the respondents are concentrated in the two middle quartiles.

The academic quartile standings of the sample, controlling for occupational skill level, are also reported in Table 3.7. Over one out of three of the white collar high employees were in

the top quarter of their high school class. The percentage of students in this quartile for each of the other three groups was progressively less from the white collar low group to the blue collar low group.

TABLE 3.7

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REPORTED QUARTILE ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOL RANKING, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Quartile Ranking in High School	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Top quarter	35.4	27.7	21.3	12.0	19.6
Second quarter	45.5	40.2	40.4	40.6	41.3
Third quarter	14.1	28.6	23.6	31.9	27.4
Fourth quarter	5.1	3.6	13.5	12.3	9.8
No response	0.0	0.0	1.1	3.2	1.9
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0

LEARNING AND EARNING: DISRUPTIVE OR CONSTRUCTIVE

This section presents information on the perceived qualifying conditions affecting school and work during the young workers' final year in high school. Specifically, the items analyzed will focus upon whether these youth held a job during their final academic year and the length of time of employment. In addition, the effects and implication of the work experiences as related to post-school work will be discussed.

HIGH SCHOOL EMPLOYMENT

Previous research suggests that in certain urban areas, as many as 80 percent of the high school students over 16 years are

employed, with the usual figure being about 50 percent employed.[3] A question in the schedule inquired whether or not the respondents held a job that lasted at the minimum a month during his last year of high school. Approximately two-thirds (64 percent) of the sample reported working during this period.

The answers to this question were also analyzed, controlling for the occupational skill level of the respondents. As Table 3.8 indicates, regardless of the respondents' present occupational category, at least three-fifths of each group reported working during their last year of high school. The white collar high workers were represented to the highest proportionate extent, as about seven out of 10 said they had worked.

Data were also gathered pertaining to the number of hours per week that the subjects devoted to their jobs. More than one-third (38.8 percent) of the sample worked during their last year in school at jobs that absorbed 20 or more hours per week. In addition, approximately one-fifth (19.7 percent) of the sample said they worked from 11 to 20 hours. Small percentages of workers indicated that as senior high school students they were employed from five to 10 hours and less than five hours, respectively.

An examination of Table 3.9 suggests this pattern is upheld across the occupational subsamples, although for the blue collar high group, approximately one-half worked more than 20 hours per week. In the white collar low group, less than one-half did not work during this period. Over two-thirds of this subsample (40.2 percent and 28.6 percent) rated themselves in the second and third quartile self-perceived rating, respectively, in high school, and approximately two-thirds of the subgroup majored in an academic program. The data suggest that an average scholastic standing may have caused some students to have increased involvement or concern in school work which left less time and attention for part-time work.

RELEVANCY AND IMPLICATION OF HIGH SCHOOL EMPLOYMENT

It was considered relevant to explore the nature of the relationship perceived by the young worker as existing between the job he held during his final year in high school, and his initial full-time job following high school. These findings, controlling for the occupational group to which the respondent presently belongs are shown in Table 3.10. The striking finding suggested in this table is that, regardless of the occupational group represented by the respondent, close to one-half of the workers who

[3] See the studies cited by Murray A. Straus (1962).

TABLE 3.8

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY WORKED DURING THEIR LAST YEAR IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF PRESENT JOB AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"During your last year of school, did you hold a full- or part-time job that lasted four weeks or more?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	71.7	59.8	67.4	62.3	64.0
No	27.2	40.2	32.6	37.1	35.5
No response	1.0	0.0	0.0	.6	.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3.9

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED PER WEEK DURING THEIR LAST YEAR IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF PRESENT JOB AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Number of Hours Worked Per Week	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Less than 5 hours	1.0	0.0	0.0	.3	.3
5 to 10 hours	12.1	1.8	3.4	3.2	4.4
11 to 20 hours	21.2	23.2	16.9	18.7	19.7
20 or more hours	36.4	33.0	47.2	39.5	38.8

(Continued)

TABLE 3.9 (Continued)

Number of Hours Worked Per Week	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Does not apply	29.3	42.0	32.6	37.7	36.5
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	.6	.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3.10

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR PERCEIVED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL JOB AND PRESENT JOB, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF PRESENT JOB AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Perceived Relationship Between High School Job and Present Job	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Directly related	11.1	4.5	10.1	7.9	8.1
Somewhat related	7.1	8.0	7.9	5.0	6.3
Not related	53.6	45.5	49.5	49.4	49.4
Does not apply or no response	28.3	42.0	32.6	37.7	36.3
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1

reported working at least one month during their final year in high school, maintain their work was not related to their present occupational activity. When the percentage of respondents who stipulated their high school work was "not related" is combined with the percentage of workers in each group who said they had not worked during this period, a total of at least 80 percent of them either did not work or had non-related jobs.

Approximately one-half (46.4 percent) of the sample members who reported having worked did not feel their jobs interfered with their school work; about one-fourth of the subjects (22.4 percent) said that their employment did interfere with their studies.

This item was also analyzed by occupational subgroups (see Table 3.11). Over one-half of the young workers in the white collar high classification, and approximately two-fifths to one-half of each of the other technological subgroups, did not perceive working as detrimental to their scholastic standing. However, from one-fifth to one-fourth of the subsamples did feel the pressure of work as interfering with their school work. These findings are summarized in Table 3.11.

TABLE 3.11

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY PERCEIVED THAT WORKING INTERFERED WITH THEIR SCHOOL WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF PRESENT JOB AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Do you feel that this job (during high school) interfered with your school work in any way?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	21.2	26.8	27.0	20.2	22.4
No	55.6	39.3	43.8	46.8	46.4
Does not apply	23.2	33.9	29.2	33.0	31.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

INITIAL FULL-TIME JOB SEEKING BEHAVIOR

Considered in this section are the following: a) whether or not anyone at the respondent's high school told him about the different kinds of jobs for which he was qualified, b) how the respondents found their initial jobs after leaving school, c) when they started their job search, d) reasons why the young workers believed they were granted employment and why they accepted the jobs offered, e) length of time the sample members spent on their initial full-time jobs, and f) reasons cited for leaving these jobs.

SOURCES OF JOB INFORMATION

To further explore other relevant facets pertaining to the transition from school to full-time employment, it was necessary to investigate a potential impetus that may have mitigated or helped in establishing a direction for the change process. A main source was apt to be those personal and family contacts that may have informed a student about possible "openings" in the work world.[4] Before examining the general role played by "contacts" in serving as sources of job information, an inquiry was made as to which personnel in the school system assisted in this capacity. When the 642 sample members were asked, "Did anyone at your high school tell you about the different kinds of jobs for which you might be qualified?," more than two-thirds (68.4 percent) responded negatively. For the roughly one-third who answered "yes" to that question, their responses were separated into the specific school personnel or school activities that provided the student the information needed to help him decide whether he qualified for a particular occupation.

Of the 205 students who responded "yes" to the question that sought an information source in the school per se, 66 percent of the sample gained knowledge about their qualifications through their guidance counselors, an additional 16 percent were advised by a high school teacher other than one directly related to a vocational-educational program. Other sources identified and the percent of students suggesting these sources were: vocational education teacher = 4 percent; principal = 7 percent; fellow student = 1 percent; school sponsored activities (e.g., career day) = 1 percent; and other sources = 4 percent.

When these data were analyzed according to the occupational skill level of the respondent, for each of the subgroups, the

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[4]Research (McGill, Matthews, 1940; Noland, Bakke, 1949; Parnes, 1954) has consistently shown that the most common method of getting a job is through contacts.

guidance counselor was the major reference for those students who acquired job information from sources within high school. The percentages fluctuated from 53 to 80.5 percent, respectively, with the blue collar highs having the lowest percent, and white collar lows the highest. Almost two-thirds of the blue collar low workers indicated the guidance counselor was the major source of information. Among the white collar high group, 65 percent specified the guidance counselor as their major information source.

FINDING THE FIRST JOBS

In order to further describe the job seeking behavior of this young worker sample, they were asked to indicate how they found their initial jobs after leaving school. The actual "getting of" a job was accomplished by about 33 percent of the students "on their own" and only four percent were aided directly by school personnel, i.e., teachers or guidance counselors. Community resources such as "employment agencies" (10.6 percent) or "newspaper ads" (5.1 percent) accounted for 15.7 percent, and "personal contacts" (26.9 percent) which could also include "family and relatives" (14.9 percent) totaled 41.8 percent. Personal methods can be defined as including "family and relatives," "personal contacts" and "on my own." As such, this broad category amounted to three-fourths (74.3 percent) of the total sample's method of securing their first full-time job.

These data were reanalyzed in order to determine if there were any significant variation in "job finding" procedure among the members of the four occupational groups. When the white collar highs were compared with the blue collar lows, a significant difference did result.

When "personal methods" subheadings were combined ("personal contacts," "family relations," and "on my own"), slightly less than three-fifths (57.6 percent) of the white collar highs used this approach, compared to more than four-fifths (82 percent) of the blue collar lows. Community resources amounted to one-fourth (24.2 percent) of the white collar high sample and only one-tenth (10.8 percent) of the blue collar lows. It appears the blue collar low respondents rarely used "outside" contacts but relied upon personal, intimate methods (i.e., word-of-mouth, and direct knowledge). As is evidenced, very few workers actually secured their first full-time employment through aid obtained from their school personnel. These findings are depicted in Table 3.12.

Although the majority of the sample used personal resources as an adjunct means of securing initial full-time jobs, it was found that only one-fifth (20.9 percent) of the 642 young workers started their job search before they left high school (see Table 3.13). More than one-fourth (28.8 percent) began to search for

TABLE 3.12

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE METHOD USED IN FINDING THEIR FIRST JOBS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"How did you find your first job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
On my own	20.2	30.4	34.8	36.3	32.5
Employment agency	14.1	17.9	7.9	7.9	10.6
Newspaper ads	10.1	7.1	5.6	2.9	5.1
Personal contacts	28.3	25.0	22.5	28.4	26.9
Teachers and counselors	6.1	3.6	5.6	3.2	4.0
Family and relatives	9.1	9.8	19.1	17.3	14.9
Other	12.1	6.3	3.4	4.1	5.6
Don't remember	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.8

TABLE 3.13

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF TIME PRIOR OR AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL THAT THEY STARTED THEIR JOB SEARCH, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"How long after leaving school did you start looking for a full-time job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Started looking before leaving	20.2	19.6	15.7	22.8	20.9
Promised a job upon leaving	5.1	5.4	6.7	5.8	5.8
Within a month	32.3	25.0	31.5	28.4	28.8
More than a month	9.1	14.3	13.5	11.7	12.0
Entered armed services	19.2	16.1	18.0	15.5	16.5
Miscellaneous	14.1	19.6	13.5	15.8	15.9
No response	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

employment within a month after leaving school. Approximately one-fifth (16.5 percent) of this sample did not attempt to seriously engage in the search for a full-time job because they entered the armed forces and secured employment upon their discharge. Only 5.8 percent of this sample had a definite employment commitment contingent upon the termination of their high school education.

The response patterns of the four occupational groups are also reported in Table 3.13. One-third of each collar's high occupational group and one-fourth of each collar's low technology group found a job by the end of the first month after terminating their formal education. Very few, or approximately five percent

of the young workers had a job promised, regardless of the educational program they had pursued in high school.

REASONS FOR ACCEPTING FIRST JOB

Data were also gathered pertaining to the reasons the 642 subjects gave for accepting their first full-time job. Thirty-six percent of the sample indicated they accepted their initial employment primarily for monetary reasons--the immediate rewards it offered. The reasons of "best offer for advancement" and "only job offer," were respectively identified by nearly one-tenth of the workers. Two groups of respondents, each representing six percent of the sample population, said they selected their first post-high school, full-time job because they "knew people who worked there or they liked it" and it was the "only company offering halfway decent job." The remaining members of the sample, or close to one-third either gave a variety of miscellaneous reasons or were not able to recall the reasons why they accepted their initial jobs.

Table 3.14 reveals the reasons cited by the subjects for accepting their initial full-time job, controlling for the four occupational skill levels. Almost twice the percentage of blue collar low respondents took their initial jobs for monetary reasons as compared to the white collar high respondents. There were a variety of personal reasons why the white-high workers accepted their first jobs as can be inferred from the large percentage represented in the miscellaneous category. These reasons included knowing the firm's reputation, opportunity to travel, mobility within the company, training programs, and company benefits.

BASIS OF FIRST JOB OFFER

Respondents also were asked their perceptions as to why they had been granted employment. According to Table 3.15, 33.5 percent believed that neither vocational-educational qualifications nor personal attributes were responsible for their being hired. Instead they attributed their employment to fortuitous situational circumstances (e.g., an existing vacancy). Other specific factors frequently reported by the respondents were "educational background" (17.4 percent) and "personal recommendations" (19.5 percent).

Further analysis of the findings on the perceptions of the respondents as to why they were hired resulted in the separation of the data according to the four occupational groups. As is also recorded in Table 3.15, about one-fourth of the white collar high workers believed they were educationally qualified, and close to one-fifth believed they were employed to fill an immediate company's

TABLE 3.14

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE REASONS THEY CITED FOR ACCEPTING INITIAL JOBS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Why did you take that (initial) job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Needed the money	22.2	25.0	36.0	43.3	35.8
Best offer for advancement	14.1	18.8	12.4	6.7	10.7
Knew people who worked there; they liked it	5.1	4.5	6.7	6.7	6.1
Only company offering halfway decent job	3.0	8.0	5.6	6.4	6.1
Only job offer	12.1	5.4	9.0	11.7	10.1
Don't recall	1.0	.9	1.1	.6	.8
Miscellaneous	42.4	37.5	29.2	24.6	30.2
TOTAL	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.8

TABLE 3.15

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR PERCEPTIONS AS TO THE REASON WHY THEY WERE HIRED, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Why do you think you got that (initial) job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Educational background	24.2	23.2	16.9	13.7	17.4
Past work experience	7.1	7.1	2.2	10.8	8.4
Personal recommendations	18.2	22.3	24.7	17.5	19.5
School records	2.0	2.7	1.1	0.0	.9
Personality	5.1	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.5
No particular reason--a vacancy existed	19.2	25.0	37.1	39.5	33.5
Miscellaneous	24.2	17.9	15.7	16.4	17.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9

needs. This pattern also holds for the white collar low subjects. There is also a tendency for both blue collar groups to have their responses concentrated more heavily in the "no particular reason--a vacancy existed" category.

Not only are there percentage differences that are characteristic of the comparisons between the blue and white collar groups as to their respective reasons why they were hired, but these differences are statistically significant.

LENGTH OF FIRST JOB

Data of particular relevance to this research were also secured regarding the length of time the sample members spent on their initial full-time jobs. The findings of this research indicate that slightly more than 50 percent of the respondents remained on their first job for one year or more. The next most frequently selected time period was that of three to six months, identified by about one-fourth of the sample.

In addition to findings pertaining to the total sample, Table 3.16 shows the distribution of length of initial employment period by occupational skill level. The pattern discussed above for the total sample seems to hold for all occupational subsamples. The peak period for changing of employment occurred at the three to six month period. However, a greater proportion of the youth in each occupational group stayed on their first jobs one year and more. This was more so the case for the skill workers of each collar color group.

TABLE 3.16

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF INITIAL EMPLOYMENT PERIOD, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Length of Initial Employment Period	Occupational Skill Level				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Less 1 month	0.0	1.8	5.6	4.9	3.6
1 - 3 months	5.1	13.4	7.9	9.6	9.3
3 - 6 months	18.2	20.5	15.7	22.8	20.9
6 - 9 months	10.1	12.5	9.0	12.6	11.7
9 - 12 months	3.0	6.3	4.5	3.5	4.0
12 + months	63.6	45.5	56.2	45.9	50.3
No response	0.0	0.0	1.1	.9	.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.2	99.9

REASONS FOR LEAVING FIRST JOB

It is also of interest to determine the reasons which eventually prompted the youthful workers to leave their first jobs and seek new employment elsewhere. Consequently, each respondent was asked to indicate the most important reason why he terminated his initial work. As reported in Table 3.17, more than one-third combined left their first job because of "lack of opportunity" and "low pay." It should be recalled at this point that one-third of the respondents had accepted their initial job primarily for monetary reasons. Approximately one-fourth of the youthful workers (23 percent) were still employed in their initial job at the time of the interview, and one-tenth had been drafted into the armed services.

TABLE 3.17

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE REASON CITED FOR TERMINATING THEIR INITIAL EMPLOYMENT, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF PRESENT JOB AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Reasons for Leaving Job	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Lack of opportunity	20.2	20.5	20.2	18.7	19.5
Job terminated	8.1	8.9	9.0	9.4	9.0
Low pay	12.1	4.5	15.7	23.1	17.4
Working conditions	2.0	.9	2.2	2.0	1.9
Military service	11.1	12.5	10.1	11.1	11.2
Nature of work	2.0	2.7	1.1	1.5	1.7
General dissatisfaction	6.1	1.8	1.1	3.5	3.3
Expenditure of time and energy	3.0	2.7	4.5	2.0	2.6

(Continued)

TABLE 3.17 (Continued)

Reasons for Leaving Job	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Associational factors	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	.8
Still on job	27.3	34.8	20.2	18.7	23.0
No response	6.1	5.4	5.6	5.6	5.6
Miscellaneous	1.0	5.4	10.1	2.6	3.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	99.8	99.8	99.9

The percentage distribution for the sample classified according to occupational subgroups is also presented in Table 3.17. This table demonstrates that one-fifth of all the occupational skill groups mentioned a lack of opportunity existing in their position as the cause for terminating their jobs. An additional one-fourth of the blue collar low groups stressed low pay as the reasons why they left their first job in favor of another. By starting at the lower levels of technology, this group started at the lower levels of the pay scales. After a period of work experience as laborers or unskilled factory workers, they probably perceived the wages they earned as insufficient, and the opportunities that were available as closed to them.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to present data relative to certain preadult experiences and job seeking behaviors, as well as related material basic to understanding some of the processes involved in the transition from school to work. The areas investigated pertained to educational status, linkage between school and work, implications of high school employment and job seeking behavior.

In general, the findings indicated that the youthful male workers had greater educational attainment than either parent; this generalization was applicable across the occupational categories into which the sample members were divided. However, white collar workers had more formal education than blue collar workers, and the more skilled respondents in each collar color grouping had greater education than the less skilled employees. More than one-third of the 642 respondents stressed considerations relating to motivations and beyond the individual's control, respectively, for terminating school.

As high school students, 46 percent of the total sample had followed an academic curriculum, 38 percent a general course, and about 14 percent had majored in vocational education. The majority (over one-third to two-thirds) of youth in both white collar categories and the blue collar high group had participated in academic programs, and slightly less than one-half of the blue collar low workers were enrolled in general programs. Vocationally oriented programs were pursued to the greatest proportion by both blue collar groups.

For the sample as a whole, the youth were divided almost equally as to the perceived usefulness of their high school education to their present work. With further analysis, greater proportions of blue collar employees considered their high school training as not being useful to the performance of present work roles; this was particularly characteristic of low skill respondents. It was noted above that more blue collar low workers had been enrolled in general education programs, than either of the other two programs. In comparison to the white collar groups, however, a larger proportion of blue collar workers, regardless of skill level, had majored in vocational programs. A larger proportion of white collar than blue collar respondents reported their high school training to be useful. When the young workers were solicited to recommend a course of study for someone aspiring to enter their line of work, 52 percent suggested the program they had pursued and about 46 percent did not. The higher the occupational and skill level of the respondent, the greater was the tendency for him to recommend the program he had pursued. Of those who suggested an alternative program, over one-half suggested a vocational curriculum.

The subjects were asked to indicate their quartile academic rankings. Over 80 percent of the blue collar workers maintained they ranked in the second or a lower quartile of their high school classes; over two-thirds of the white collar employees rated themselves in the upper half.

Data gathered from the 642 young workers revealed that high school personnel were only helpful to about one-third of them when it came to providing information about jobs for which they

were qualified. Of the 205 respondents who were recipients of job information from these sources, the high school counselor constituted the primary information source for 66 percent, followed at a distance by nonvocational high school teachers (16 percent), and vocational teachers (four percent). When it came to getting a job, three-fourths of the workers used personal contacts or their own efforts. This method was used by nearly 60 percent of the white collar highs, but by over 80 percent of the blue collar lows. In addition, community resources were used by one-fourth of the white collar highs but by only one-tenth of the blue collar lows.

Very few of the youth had definite job commitments prior to leaving school despite the fact that one-fifth of the sample did engage in seeking full-time employment while still a student; an additional one-fourth of the youth began looking for a job within a month following school.

More than two-thirds of the sample reported having worked at least one month during their last year of high school. Over one-half of the members of each collar color and skill level group responded they had worked during this period, ranging from three-fifths of the white collar low group to seven-tenths of the white collar high employees. Of those who reported working at least one month during the last year of school, two out of five worked more than 20 hours per week. It is significant that 80 percent of the sample either had not worked or did not feel their present work was related to the type of work in which they were involved as high school students. One-third of the highly skilled groups and one-fourth of the low ones had accepted a job within a month after leaving high school. Over one-third of the workers accepted their jobs for immediate monetary reasons.

When asked to identify the reasor why their first job was granted to them, about one-third attributed being hired to fortuitous circumstances rather than personal or vocational adequacy. Of the white collar high respondents, about one-fourth felt educationally qualified for their positions while more blue collar workers felt that they were merely filling a vacancy.

The pattern of job mobility reveals two peak modes, the three to six month peak of job termination and the 12 or more months peak. Despite the peak mobility patterns, slightly more than one-half remained on their job for more than one year. One-third left their initial full-time work experience because of perceived financial and opportunity restraints.

IV. MOTIVATIONS, REWARDS, AND GENERAL EVALUATIONS RELATIVE TO PRESENT JOBS

This chapter focuses upon the respondents' perceptions of four facets of their present occupational positions. First, the reasons cited by the young workers for changing jobs are presented. Second, findings are disclosed concerning the rewards which the sample perceive as receiving from their present jobs. Third, responses relative to general job evaluations are discussed. Fourth, the major "likes" and "dislikes" which the workers have of their jobs are presented. These data have implications for certain problematic conditions that may be characteristic of a person's occupation.

FACTORS AFFECTING JOB CHANCES

In the previous chapter, a brief consideration was given to the reasons specified by the 642 respondents for selecting their initial full-time jobs following high school. At this time, similar data are presented concerning the youthful workers' present jobs, if different from their initial jobs. By so doing, it may be possible to indirectly determine what was "lacking" in the respondent's first job, that served as a motivating force effecting a change in jobs.

Initially, it should be noted that the reason people accept employment is difficult to determine. This is partially explained by the facts that a particular job is seldom selected on the basis of any one factor, and because occupational motivations are not always clear to the job seekers themselves. In spite of these limitations, the reasons frequently indicated for accepting jobs tend to cluster into the following areas: 1) money, 2) advancement, 3) knew people, 4) only job offer, 5) best job offer, and 6) enjoyable work. The respondents were asked to identify which of these factors constituted the basic reason why they accepted their present jobs. Of the 642 subjects, 163 cited factors other than those listed above, 165 still held their initial full-time job following high school, and three did not respond. Consequently, the data reported in Table 4.1 pertain to only 311 of the young workers.

The most striking observation to be made from an inspection of Table 4.1 is that a significant proportion (43.7 percent) of the total sample selected "best opportunity for advancement" as the principal reason for selecting their present jobs. Although, as will be discussed later, the percentage of respondents selecting this factor does vary according to collar color and skill

TABLE 4.1

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPAL REASONS EXPRESSED FOR ACCEPTING PRESENT EMPLOYMENT, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What was the most important reason why you took this particular job (present job)?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=311)
	White Collar High (N=46)	White Collar Low (N=50)	Blue Collar High (N=46)	Blue Collar Low (N=169)	
Needed the money	13.0	24.0	19.6	45.0	33.1
Best advancement opportunity	65.2	58.0	47.8	32.5	43.7
Knew people working there	4.3	4.0	6.5	3.6	4.2
Only decent job offer made	4.3	2.0	0.0	4.1	3.2
Only job offered	0.0	2.0	6.5	3.0	2.9
Enjoyed the work	13.0	10.0	19.6	11.8	12.9
TOTAL	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

level, it must be concluded that the "mobility motif" constitutes an important aspect of the motivational systems of the respondents, regardless of skill level or collar color. Approximately one-third of this group accepted their jobs because of money considerations. Enjoyment of work, selected by only 13 percent of the sample, ranks a distant third as a primary motivation for accepting employment. This indicates quite clearly the extent to which work is viewed as a means-to-an-end rather than an end-in-itself. That is, the workers attributed more significance to the extrinsic rewards derivable through their labor.

Prior surveys (Sheppard, Belitsky, 1966) have reported that informal friendship groups play an important role in conveying to job seekers information about occupational opportunities. Nevertheless, according to this study's data, individuals seldom accept employment expressly because of these informal contacts. In addition, it can be deduced from Table 4.1 that occupational opportunities appear to be plentiful. Few of the persons sampled said they took their present jobs primarily because it was the only job, or only decent job available.

Table 4.1 also suggests that a majority of the members of each white collar group specified "best opportunity for advancement" as the principal reason for selecting their present jobs. Best opportunity for advancement was also selected more often by the blue collar high group. In contrast, a greater number of blue collar low workers indicated they accepted their present jobs because they "needed the money"; "best advancement opportunity" was second as to the frequency with which it was chosen.

SPECIFIC EVALUATIONS OF PRESENT JOBS AS TO REWARD-PUNISHMENT DIMENSIONS

One model of human behavior seeks to explain the personal evaluations of social situations by utilizing a reward-punishment schema.[1] In a schema of this type, it is apparent that what is considered a reward, or a punishment, tends to differ from person to person, and through time for any given person.

Meaningful reward-punishment dimensions which have a bearing on the specific evaluations workers have of their jobs are those relating to economic, psychological and sociological considerations. Thus, Super (1957) relates such factors as aptitudes, earnings, age, enterprise, intelligence, interest, prestige, security and social status to the values persons attach to their work. Each of these psycho-social aspects of the worker and his job can be

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[1]As an illustration of a theory which attempts to do this the interested reader should consult George Homans (1961).

viewed from a somewhat different but related perspective. Aptitudes, enterprise, and interest are personal or psychological attributes. Security, prestige, and status are occupational attributes which derive their meaning from familial and community sources. Therefore, it seemed a good research strategy to assess the occupational evaluations of workers in the personal, familial, and community rewards and punishments associated with work.

There is a close correspondence among the personal, familial and community rewards and/or punishments associated with employment. Man, after all, is a bio-psycho-social animal (Miller, Form, 1964). His work behavior both affects and is affected by his extra-work behavior. For example, jobs which generate self-respect likewise promote family pride and social respect. Conversely, employment which carries with it negative psychological perceptions also evidences familial and community denigration. Of course, the personal, familial and community dimensions of employment may be perceived differentially, so that one may perceive his work as personally meritorious, while at the same time consider his employment a familial or community liability. Under these circumstances employment may be said to be perceptually incongruous.[2]

PERSONAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

Characteristically, workers prefer jobs which provide them with opportunities for advancement, which allow them a measure of self-respect, which are interesting, which maximize skills, abilities and ideas, and which are thought of as purposeful, useful and varied.

Persons who hold jobs with these perceived qualities generally evaluate their work positively, whereas persons holding jobs lacking these qualities devalue their work. Consequently, if the worker feels his job possesses these personal occupational rewards, he will express satisfaction with his work. Correlatively, insofar as the person feels his job lacks or denies him these rewards, he will dislike his work.

The responses to the series of questions shown on Table 4.2 indicate the extent to which workers evaluate their current jobs positively or negatively, according to the kind of occupational technology circumscribing their work. Certain general conclusions can be derived from an examination of Table 4.2. They are summarily stated below.

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[2]Status congruity and incongruity is treated in an article by Roland J. Pellegrin and Frederick L. Bates (1959).

TABLE 4.2

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ORIENTATIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN PERSONAL ASPECTS OF THEIR WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE*

Personal Aspects of Work	Occupational Category				
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	Total Sample (N=642)
	+ 0 -**	+ 0 -	+ 0 -	+ 0 -	+ 0 -
Opportunity for advancement	62 28 10	60 25 14	39 37 20	36 41 21	45 36 18
More than filling day	73 19 5	60 28 13	62 27 11	40 40 18	51 33 14
Self-respect	71 25 4	66 28 6	69 29 2	41 41 16	54 35 10
New and interesting experience	75 16 8	66 18 16	61 19 18	43 23 32	55 20 23
Opportunity to use skills and abilities	70 18 12	46 36 18	48 32 19	35 29 33	44 29 25
Opportunity to work with and be with others	79 18 3	80 13 7	71 21 8	61 29 9	68 24 8
Opportunity to use own ideas	58 26 15	38 30 29	30 33 34	24 22 49	32 26 38
Regular routine	34 32 32	43 36 20	43 30 20	55 31 13	48 32 18
Opportunity to tell others on the job what to do	40 31 21	25 30 37	21 33 34	7 23 51	17 27 42
Purpose in life	56 31 8	43 35 19	27 46 24	26 41 28	33 39 22
Good working hours	56 33 11	72 17 11	55 23 20	55 32 14	58 28 14
A feeling of useful service to others	67 27 6	59 29 11	67 28 3	44 38 14	53 34 11

*The respondents' orientations were ascertained in terms of a five-point alternative response scale, extending from a very low to a very high evaluation.

**+ = positive orientation (very high and high evaluations)
0 = neutral orientation (average evaluations)
- = negative orientation (low and very low evaluations)

In most cases the percentage distribution that resulted for each aspect of work, by occupational category and total sample, does not add up to 100 percent because the percent of "no responses" is not reported.

1. As expected, major variation in the worker's occupational evaluations is found according to the color of the workman's collar. White collarites are noticeably more optimistic about the opportunity structure of their jobs than are their blue collar counterparts. Within each collar color, however, minor differences exist in the perceptions of advancement opportunities according to skill level. This indicates that collar color, rather than skill level, is more closely associated with a positive view of the availability of occupational opportunity.

The observation offered above also applies to the perceptions workers have of the extent to which their jobs provide them with a purpose in life. Again, white collar workers are much more likely than blue collar workers to reveal their employment gives purpose to their lives.

2. Contrary to the above pattern, the young workers' perceptions of the amount of self-respect and useful service their jobs provide are related more directly to skill level than to collar color. Individuals, pursuing high skilled occupations think their jobs provide a greater sense of self-respect and a feeling of useful service to others than is the case for workers employed in low skilled occupations.

3. A pattern of regression characterizes the respondents' evaluations of their jobs insofar as "opportunity to use own ideas" is concerned. In this instance, workers become progressively disenchanted with their work as one moves from white collar high skill, to white collar low skill, to blue collar high skill, and to blue collar low skill.

4. The most notable pattern is that reflecting a convergence of opinion among white collar low skill and blue collar high skill workers, whose occupational perceptions are neither as optimistic as those of the white collar high, nor as pessimistic as those of the blue collar low. These two categories occupy a kind of middle ground of agreement with respect to their perceptions of such dimensions as: 1) more than filling day, 2) new and interesting experience, 3) opportunity to use your skills and abilities, 4) regular routine, and 5) opportunity to tell others on the job what to do. The white collar high and blue collar low workers are at the polar extreme, and, relative to one another, tend to think positively and negatively respectively of these personal dimensions of their work.

Table 4.3 has been prepared to show at a glance which relationships are significant or not significant. The symbol "X" means the relationship is significant at the .05 level or less; the symbol "O" suggests the relationship is greater than .05 and not considered statistically significant. The perceptual orientation of white collar high and blue collar low personnel, and

TABLE 4.3

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT AND INSIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS OF WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS REGARDING PERSONAL ASPECTS OF THEIR WORK, CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY*

Personal Aspects of Work	Comparisons of Occupational Categories					
	White Collar High vs White Collar Low	White Collar High vs Blue Collar High	White Collar High vs Blue Collar Low	White Collar Low vs Blue Collar High	White Collar Low vs Blue Collar Low	Blue Collar High vs Blue Collar Low
Opportunity for advancement	0	X	X	0	X	0
More than filling day	0	0	X	0	X	X
Self-respect	0	0	X	0	X	X
New and interesting experience	0	0	X	0	X	X
Opportunity to use skills and abilities	X	X	X	0	X	X
Opportunity to work with and be with others	0	0	X	0	X	0
Opportunity to use own ideas	X	X	X	0	X	X
Regular routine	0	0	X	0	0	0
Opportunity to tell others what to do	X	X	X	0	X	X
Purpose in life	0	X	X	0	X	0
Good working hours	0	0	0	X	X	0
A feeling of useful service to others	0	0	X	0	X	X
TOTAL	X=3 0=9	X=5 0=7	X=11 0=1	X=1 0=11	X=11 0=1	X=7 0=5

*The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of significance was used.
"X" means the relationship is significant at $p \leq .05$.
"0" means the relationship is greater than .05 and not considered statistically significant.

those of white collar low and blue collar low respondents, are most inconsistent with one another, with the white collar workers in each comparison being significantly more positively oriented toward their work than either group of blue collar employees. Furthermore, the high and low skilled white collar subjects have relatively similar perceptions with reference to several personal aspects of their work. This generalization does not apply when the blue collar high and blue collar low respondents are compared. The comparison between the white collar low and white collar high groups resulted in the greatest perceptual similarity.

These data indicate that the occupational perceptions of white collar workers are more homogeneous than those of blue collarites. One possible explanation is that the process described as anticipatory socialization operates among the white collar low workers. That is, they view their white collar high counterparts as a reference group, and in the identification process internalize an occupational ideology consistent with the more highly skilled white collar personnel.

Why isn't the same explanation applicable to the blue collar workers? It is likely that the occupational perceptions of blue collar workers are less homogeneous than white collar workers because the low skill blue collar worker tends to be a full-time employee whose post-educational experience and occupational training do not allow him the occupational options available to his white collar counterpart. The blue collarite is more likely to share the opinion that his opportunity to be mobile is quite limited. In contrast, many of the white collar low workers are likely to view their low skilled employment as a temporary situation, as something which must be endured while they are simultaneously enrolled as students in night school or as part-time day students in a university or business college. They are exhibiting the well publicized deferred gratification pattern which eventually--so they believe--will permit them to rise higher in the occupational structure.

According to C. Wright Mills (1956), every basis on which the blue collar and white collar worlds were traditionally differentiated is diminishing. The discussion above suggests that Mills is partially accurate and partially erroneous. It is especially true that the occupational milieu and life styles of white collar low and blue collar high skill workers are converging, less correct if we compare white collar high and blue collar high, and virtually totally inaccurate insofar as white collar low skill versus blue collar low skill and white collar high versus blue collar low occupations. Assuredly, some white collar and blue collar occupations are merging in the sense that the training, rewards, and their life style are becoming similar. On the other hand, it appears that other white and blue collar jobs are becoming differentiated to an even greater degree, thereby separating

their incumbents into even more discrete occupational and general socio-cultural worlds.

A question arises as to the nature of the relationship existing between worker adjustment and the young workers' perceptions reported earlier. For the sake of parsimony, the responses to only two of the 12 reward-punishment items (opportunity for advancement and feelings of self-respect) and four worker adjustment items were cross classified using 3 x 2 contingency tables.[3] In each case a chi-square test was employed to determine if there is a significant difference in whether or not the subjects responded negatively or affirmatively to each of the worker adjustment items according to the extent of perceived rewards (high, average, and low). Of the eight chi-squares that were computed, six were significant at the .001 level, one at the .01 level, and another at the .02 level.

These "illustrative" findings are consistent with what was expected. They are only presented to demonstrate empirically the utility of the rewards-punishment schema in the study of worker adjustment.

FAMILIAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

W. I. Thomas (1923) established a strong argument in support of the view that man has felt needs for recognition and response. C. H. Cooley (1909) pointed out the desirability and even necessity for these human needs to be met within the primary group of the family. Prior research (Dyer, 1956) has demonstrated that much of the recognition the male head of a family receives from his family derives from his occupational status. Moreover, a consequent effect of this familial feedback is evident in the implications it has for self-concept formulation. For the worker then, "a good job" is likely to allow him and his family an opportunity to "see the worker in a favorable light." The realization of this end is dependent upon the ability of the male breadwinner to provide his family a chance to achieve its familial goals. The valued goals in American family life which are primarily based upon the occupational pursuits of the husband include: 1) a good living, 2) security, and 3) a sense of family pride. The 642 young workers were asked to evaluate their jobs as to each of these goals. The results are depicted in Table 4.4.

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[3]These questions are: 1) Have you ever thought seriously about changing your job?; 2) Is your work often frustrating?; 3) Do you think the job you are in is the right sort of job for you?; and 4) Did you expect to be placed at a higher job level?

TABLE 4.4

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ORIENTATIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN FAMILIAL ASPECTS OF THEIR WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE*

Familial Aspects of Work	Occupational Category												Total Sample (N=642)		
	White Collar High (N=99)			White Collar Low (N=112)			Blue Collar High (N=89)			Blue Collar Low (N=342)					
	+	0	-**	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Good living	45	51	4	36	38	21	36	49	15	43	45	11	41	45	12
A sense of pride	63	31	4	54	31	13	45	40	9	39	45	14	46	40	12
Secure future	83	13	3	65	19	13	74	18	8	54	29	15	63	23	12

*See explanatory footnotes to Table 4.2.

Although, in comparison to the other types of workers, more of the white collar high employees were satisfied that their employment enabled them to make a good living, the data revealed that less than one-half of them (45 percent) felt their work provided them and their families with a good living. Surprisingly, a greater percentage of the blue collar low workers were satisfied with their earnings than were the case for either the blue collar high or white collar low personnel. In fact, they were nearly equally as satisfied with their earnings as were the white collar high skill workers. White collar high and blue collar low workers each differed significantly from white collar low workers in the extent to which they felt their incomes were satisfactory, with the white collar low workers being the more dissatisfied. Although the white collar high respondents are somewhat dissatisfied with their earnings, they nevertheless overwhelmingly feel their employment provides them with a secure future. The same observation applies to blue collar high employees, where 74 percent believe their jobs provide them with secure futures, while slightly more than one-third that many, or 36 percent, indicate their jobs enable them to earn a good living.

In general, security is more closely associated with skill level, rather than the color of the workman's collar. Highly skilled white and blue collor employees think their jobs are secure, whereas lowly skilled employees, regardless of collar color, think their jobs are insecure. Statistically significant differences characterize the following comparisons: white collar high versus blue collar low; and white collar high versus white collar low. The other two occupational groups demonstrate the same tendency, though the differences in the responses are not nearly so great. Thirty-six percent of the white collar low workers feel as though they earn a good living, but 65 percent believe they enjoy a secure future. The comparable figures for blue collar low workers are 43 and 54 percents, respectively.

In comparison to blue collar work, white collar employment retains its social-psychological advantage as reflected by the finding that proportionately more white collarites, than blue collarites, derive a sense of familial pride from their work. On the other hand, skill level more than collar color, seems to be associated with positive future occupational orientations.

COMMUNITY REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

It might be imagined that what generates pride within the family would also engender respect and influence on a community-wide basis. However, the findings do not support this supposition. When asked to indicate whether or not their jobs gave them and their families the respect of others in the community, the 642 workers as a group advanced a relatively pessimistic view (see Table 4.5). Workers in the four occupational categories did, however, respond dissimilarly to this question, with the result that white collar high, white collar low, blue collar high, and blue collar low respondents, in that order, reported that community respect emanated from employment. A statistically significant difference was noted between white collar high and blue collar low skilled employees in this regard.

It is well recognized that young inexperienced workers do not have much influence in the industrial world. This is understandable since they are usually located near the bottom of the industrial bureaucratic hierarchy. At the same time, however, one of the ethnocentric qualities of employed workers is the inclination to overstate the value of their work in the shop and, in addition, to assign to themselves more influence in the community than what would objectively be warranted. This paradox is resolved with this study's respondents' indication that they are relatively influenceless in the community. Less than 20 percent of any occupational category felt their jobs yielded community influence; the percentage was lower for blue collar than for white

TABLE 4.5

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ORIENTATIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN COMMUNITY ASPECTS OF THEIR WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE*

Community Aspects of Work	Occupational Category												Total Sample (N=642)		
	White Collar High (N=99)			White Collar Low (N=112)			Blue Collar High (N=89)			Blue Collar Low (N=342)					
	+	0	-**	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Respect	41	49	5	31	52	10	25	61	8	21	56	15	26	55	12
Influence	17	59	18	18	39	30	15	43	32	9	35	45	13	41	36

*See explanatory footnotes to Table 4.3.

collar workers. The following statistically significant differences between groups were noted: white collar high versus blue collar high; white collar high versus blue collar low; and white collar low versus blue collar low workers. These findings seem inconsistent with what one would predict. It is possible that the young workers considered other statuses, e.g., religion, family background, race, ethnicity, more important than occupation in determining respect and influence in the community.

Comparison of Tables 4.4 and 4.5 illustrates the tendency for workers to perceive their employment as generating for them more familial pride than community respect. Does this mean that the "community" is a harsher judge than one's wife and children? More than likely, this could be interpreted as meaning that the worker wants and needs to translate more positively his wife's and his children's conceptions of him.

GENERAL EVALUATIONS OF WORK

This section presents data relative to work satisfaction and the specific "likes" and "dislikes" of the 642 youthful employees with reference to their jobs. The material which follows should

provide a gross indication of the general extent of worker adjustment characteristic of the respondents. Various factors will also be identified that seem to contribute to satisfying or dissatisfying work careers.

WORK SATISFACTION

Initially, a few comments are made concerning some of the difficulties involved in deriving valid measurements of work satisfaction. As Blauner (1960:340) has pointed out, most of the studies on job satisfaction have ". . . failed to specify sufficiently an inherently vague concept." This criticism is apropos to much of the previous related research.[4] A second basic measurement problem pertains to the difficulty of obtaining frank and honest answers. In America, a person's job occupies a position of centrality and it is difficult for him to demean his work, for in so doing he would be questioning his competency as an individual (Blauner, 1960). Consequently, it is "conventional" for a person to express satisfaction with his work, when in reality this may not be the case. An attempt was made to minimize the extent to which the items used in the present study would be vulnerable to these criticisms.

Since it seemed logical that persons whose occupational evaluations are negative may regret having begun their particular line of work, one of the questions asked the respondents was: "If you could start over, would you go into the same kind of work you are now doing?" The data elicited by this item are presented in Table 4.6.

For the sample as a whole, over one-half (55.6 percent) of its members responded affirmatively to the above question, close to one-third answered negatively, and the remaining respondents were "not sure" as to what they would do. The occupational category expressing the greatest dissatisfaction was the blue collar low group, where approximately 46 percent expressed a positive judgement; the white collar high group had slightly more than seven-tenths of its members who preferred their present work to the hypothetical opportunity of making an alternative selection. The distribution of responses among the white collar low and blue collar high employees are quite similar, with approximately two-thirds of each group expressing satisfaction with their present line of work.

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[4] For example, Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss (1955) reported a study in which the degree of worker satisfaction was based on the responses to the following question: "Taking into consideration all the things about your job (work), how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with it?"

TABLE 4.6

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT, IF THEY COULD START OVER, THEY WOULD CHOOSE THEIR PRESENT KIND OF WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"If you could start over would you go into the same kind of work that you are now doing?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89))	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	70.7	63.4	64.0	45.9	55.6
No	18.2	25.9	27.0	40.1	32.6
Not sure	11.1	10.7	9.0	14.0	11.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The differences in responses between the blue collar low group, and each of the other three groups, white collar low, white collar high, and blue collar high, are significant.

One critical test of the evaluations assigned to work is to ascertain, "How would you feel about a son of yours going into your kind of work?" This question was asked in an open-ended manner. The distribution of the coded responses, by total sample and occupational subgroups are enumerated in Table 4.7.

It is important to note that only about 15 percent of the sample expressed opinions which could be included in the "enthusiastic yes" category. According to occupational groups, nearly one-third and one-fourth of the high and low skilled white collar workers, respectively, and about the same proportion (one-tenth) of both blue collar groups expressed a high approval of their sons entering the same line of work they were pursuing at the time of the study.

Further examination of Table 4.7 indicates there is a marked tendency for the blue collarites in general, and the lowly skilled blue collar workers in particular, to share negative feelings regarding their sons entering the kind of work in which they are

TABLE 4.7

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO HOW THEY WOULD FEEL ABOUT THEIR SON GOING INTO THEIR KIND OF WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"How would you feel about a son of yours going into your kind of work?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Would like it (unequivocable, unqualified, enthusiastic "yes")	31.3	24.1	9.0	9.4	15.3
Would not mind if he liked it (qualified "yes")	17.2	27.7	24.7	17.5	20.2
Would be satisfied	23.2	18.8	22.5	20.2	20.7
Would not like it (definite and emphatic "no")	8.1	11.6	6.7	18.1	13.9
Would not be very good	2.0	6.3	4.5	8.5	6.6
Would not like it particularly (qualified "no")	18.2	8.9	31.5	22.5	20.7
No response	0.0	2.7	1.1	3.8	2.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

involved. This pattern becomes evident when the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is made of the differences between groups and when the nature of the differences is noted by observing the distributions in Table 4.7. There are statistically significant differences between the following groups: blue collar high and white collar low, blue collar high and white collar high, blue collar low and white collar low, and blue collar low and white collar high.

In the discussion above, two different items were used to elicit estimations of work satisfaction from the youthful labor force members who participated in this study. If the responses to these items are fairly comparable, it is likely that they, individually or collectively, represent a fairly valid measurement of work satisfaction. Based on the data reported in Tables 4.6 and 4.7, Table 4.8 has been prepared to show the extent of similarity.

In order to facilitate a comparison, it was necessary to collapse the categories presented in each of the two previous tables. This was not difficult to accomplish for Table 4.7 as the six response categories could be easily and evenly divided into the broader "satisfied" or "dissatisfied" classifications that appear in Table 4.8. The "yes" responses in Table 4.6 are obviously equivalent to "satisfied" responses. The decision to combine the "not sure" and "no" responses into a "dissatisfied" category may be questioned. It was based on the assumption that a "not sure" answer is reflective of doubt and consequently, would more logically fall in the "dissatisfied" rather than the "satisfied" category.

An inspection of Table 4.8 reveals that regardless of which item was used, approximately 56 percent of the sample provided responses suggestive of general satisfaction with their work. Although the response patterns to the two questions are not as similar, controlling for occupational groups, the differences tend to be slight. The greatest variation exists among the individuals belonging to the white collar low group, where 26.8 percent expressed the opinion that they would choose a line of work other than their present employment status, and 36.6 percent felt they would not like a son to enter the kind of work they are pursuing. It appears that the basic similarities in results, by total sample and occupational subgroups, lend credence to the conclusion that the two items are fairly valid measures of work satisfaction.

It would be of interest to determine the relationship between the findings of this research and those reported earlier on job satisfaction. However, it is not possible to make meaningful comparisons. Notwithstanding, it may be informative to consider briefly some of the previous studies in the area. Before this is done, certain basic factors are identified that make meaningful comparisons difficult, if not impossible.

TABLE 4.8*

COMPARISON OF EVALUATIONS GIVEN BY WORKERS TO TWO WORK SATISFACTION ITEMS,** BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Work Evaluation	Occupational Category								Total Sample (N=642)	
	White Collar High (N=99)		White Collar Low (N=112)		Blue Collar High (N=89)		Blue Collar Low (N=342)			
Satisfied	70.7	71.7	63.4	70.6	64.0	56.2	45.9	47.1	55.6	56.2
Dissatisfied	29.3	28.3	36.6	26.8	36.0	42.7	54.1	49.1	44.4	41.2
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	3.8	0.0	2.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Based on data presented in Tables 4.6 and 4.7.

**The items are: 1) "How would you feel about a son of yours going into your kind of work?"; and 2) "If you could start over, would you go into the same kind of work that you are now doing?" Responses to item (1) are enumerated in the first column under each column heading; responses to item (2) are enumerated in the second column.

An examination of previous studies indicates that major differences exist in sampling procedures, scope of the samples, and composition of the samples.[5] In addition, a variety of items have been used to elicit job evaluations.

There are six major studies pursued between 1935 and 1957. Each was based on a representative sample, either national or limited to a single city as to scope.

The job dissatisfaction proportions extend from 10 to 21 percent, with a mean percentage of about 15 percent. A survey of 3,000 factory workers employed in 16 industries was conducted by Roper in 1947. Some of the findings bearing on the proportion of dissatisfied workers in various occupational groups are as follows: skilled printers = 40 percent; paper workers = 48 percent; skilled automobile workers = 59 percent; skilled steelworkers = 79 percent; and unskilled automobile workers = 84 percent.

Although, as implied earlier, specific research projects are not available in the literature that lend themselves to be compared in a meaningful way with the present research endeavor, one comparative interpretation does seem applicable. It should be recalled that approximately 43 percent of the workers in the present survey, irrespective of occupational groups, yielded responses suggesting they were dissatisfied with their work. Controlling for the four occupational groups into which the sample was divided, the dissatisfaction percentages are as follows: white collar high = 29.3; white collar low = 31.7; blue collar high = 39.4; and blue collar low = 56.6. The findings that job satisfaction is greater for the white collar group over the blue collar group, and that within each color group, the highly skilled respondents are more satisfied than the lowly skilled respondents, are consistent with previously reported data.

LIKES AND DISLIKES REGARDING JOBS

What do youthful employees like and dislike most about their jobs? Data were collected from the subjects which provide answers to this question. First, let us examine the factors which the study participants indicated they liked most about their jobs.

For the sample as a whole, almost one out of three of the 642 workers selected job related characteristics (e.g., interesting and challenging work, opportunity to be creative) that were subsumed under the general rubric of "intangible considerations."

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[5]For a concise and excellent summary of the studies mentioned in this section, see Blauner (1960:340-343).

Approximately one-fourth (22.7 percent) of the respondents considered one of a variety of "tangible considerations" (e.g., money, fringe benefits) as the thing they liked most about their jobs. Selected most frequently, after "intangible" and "tangible" considerations is the "nature of the work"; about one-seventh (14.6 percent) of the sample members ascribed top priority to this facet of their jobs. These and other findings as they pertain to the total sample are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 also contains the percentage distributions of job factors most favored by the respondents, according to occupational groups. A greater proportion of the respondents in each of three occupational classifications most often said that "intangible considerations" were liked the most, in comparison to any other aspect of work. The fractional distribution extends from approximately one-half of the white collar high workers, to slightly more than one-third of the subjects composing either the white collar low or blue collar high categories. The lowly skilled blue collarites favored a "tangible consideration" over any other factor; about one-third of this group preferred this dimension. It is interesting to note that the frequency with which a "tangible consideration" was favored becomes progressively less, as one moves from the blue collar lows, to the blue collar highs, to the white collar lows, and to the white collar highs.

It is apparent from inspecting Table 4.9 that certain major differences do characterize the preferences according to occupational groups. Are these differences statistically significant? The results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicate that the differences in responses between the blue collar low workers and the members of each of the other three occupational groups are statistically significant.

The findings on the work characteristics most disliked by the respondents are summarized in Table 4.10. The most striking data presented in the table are that, by total sample, or occupational subgroups composing the sample, a consistently large proportion of the youthful employees did not share any major dislikes of their occupations. To be more specific, this was the case for over one-fifth (22 percent) of the sample. For the high and low skilled white collar groups the proportion of each memberships who indicated they disliked "nothing" about their jobs (29.3 and 24.1 percent, respectively) represents the response identified most often by members of each group. "Working conditions" were cited most frequently by the members of both blue collar groups, about one-fourth of the subsample in each case. Nearly one in six of the sample viewed factors classified under "tangible considerations" as most displeasing. The extent to which this response category was selected is proportionally fairly evenly distributed across the four occupational groups. However, a greater percentage

TABLE 4.9

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY LIKE MOST ABOUT THEIR JOBS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What do you like most about your job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Congruency between qualifications and job	5.1	.9	5.6	2.0	2.8
Expenditure of time and energy (keeps you occupied; regular routine)	0.0	5.4	1.1	2.6	2.5
Nature of work	10.1	13.4	14.6	16.4	14.6
Tangible considerations (money, fringe benefits, etc.)	11.1	15.2	16.9	30.1	22.7
Working conditions	7.1	11.6	9.0	7.9	8.6
Working relations (co-workers, supervisor)	9.1	8.0	9.0	8.5	8.6
Intangible considerations (interesting, variety, creativity, etc.)	49.5	38.4	39.3	20.5	30.7
Organizational factors (size, complexity, etc.)	0.0	0.0	0.0	.3	.2
Nothing	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.2	.8
Everything	5.1	4.5	2.2	2.3	3.1
No response or other	3.0	2.7	1.1	8.2	5.5
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.1

TABLE 4.10

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY DISLIKE MOST ABOUT THEIR JOBS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What do you dislike most about your job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Incongruency between qualifications and job	2.0	1.8	2.2	.6	1.2
Expenditure of time and energy (does not keep occupied; regular routine)	6.1	11.6	0.0	2.0	4.0
Nature of work	7.1	11.6	4.5	9.9	9.0
Tangible considerations (money, fringe benefits, etc.)	19.2	15.2	16.9	14.9	15.9
Working conditions	6.1	12.5	27.0	27.5	21.5
Working relations (co-workers, supervisor)	2.0	9.8	11.2	6.7	7.2
Intangible considerations (uninteresting, monotonous, not creative, etc.)	15.2	11.6	10.1	10.2	11.2
Identification and status	0.0	0.0	2.2	.3	.5
Organizational factors (size, complexity, etc.)	7.1	.9	4.5	1.8	2.8
Nothing	29.3	24.1	18.0	20.2	22.0
Everything	6.1	.9	2.2	3.2	3.1
No response or other	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.6	1.6
TOTAL	100.2	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0

of the white collar high respondents (19.2 percent) selected this dimension than did members of the other occupational groupings.

Comparisons of the differences in response distributions between groups resulted in the following groups comparisons that are statistically significant: blue collar low versus white collar low; blue collar low versus white collar high; blue collar high versus white collar low; and blue collar high versus white collar high.

What meaning can be attributed to the "like" and "dislike" data provided above? The fact that significant numbers of workers did not verbalize a major dislike of their jobs must be accepted with considerable caution. It is unlikely that workers, regardless of the positions they occupy in the occupational structure, do not have at least one "dislike" of their jobs. Consequently, it seems logical that many of the workers were not able to delineate specific aspects of their work that may have been a source of displeasure. This would appear to be especially the case considering the young ages of the respondents. If this thesis is correct, individuals who find themselves in this predicament are likely to experience adjustment problems far greater in scope and intensity than persons who are cognizant of certain job aspects that are defined as problematic in nature.

As reported above, the respondents did identify certain aspects of their jobs more frequently as "likes" and/or "dislikes." However, there is a greater tendency for the youthful workers to disagree as to what they perceive as most satisfying or dissatisfying about their work. This compounds the difficulties involved in the development of techniques and approaches which have general ameliorative value in facilitating the adjustment of youth to the world of work.

SUMMARY

The special concerns of this chapter were the reasons why youthful workers changed jobs and their evaluations of these jobs as to personal, familial, and community dimensions. A further aim of the chapter was to assess in a general way the extent to which the 642 workers rated their occupations in favorable or unfavorable terms. In addition, the major likes and dislikes which the workers had of these jobs were examined.

Of the 311 respondents who had experienced at least one job change since their initial full-time job, 43.7 percent selected "best opportunity for advancement" as the principal reason for making the change. In addition, one-third of the sample identified "needed the money" as the most important consideration in their acceptance of another job. "Best opportunity for advancement" was

cited most frequently by the members of each occupational group, with the exception of the blue collar low employees. This occupational group chose "needed the money" most often (45 percent) while "best opportunity for advancement" was selected second as to frequency (32 percent).

The workers' assessments of their jobs in terms of personal dimensions may be summarized as follows: 1) white collar workers were more likely than blue to feel optimistic about advancement opportunities and to feel they had a purpose in life; 2) skill level had a greater relationship than collar color with the amount of self-respect and security which the respondents perceived their jobs providing; 3) feelings about being able to use one's own ideas on the job were directly related to collar color and skill level, extending from white collar high to blue collar low; and 4) on five of the 12 different occupational evaluations there was a convergence of opinion among white collar low and blue collar high workers. Their occupational judgements were neither as optimistic as those of the white collar high, nor as pessimistic as those of the blue collar low. In general, the white collar workers were significantly more positively oriented toward their work than the blue collar respondents, but there was a greater similarity of evaluations between the two white collar groups than the blue ones.

A larger proportion of white collar high and blue collar low workers reported their earnings provided a "good living" for themselves and their families, than was the case for respondents composing the other two occupational groups. The high skill respondents in both collar color groups overwhelmingly felt they and their families had secure futures; the low skilled youth tended to perceive less secure futures. A "sense of pride" emanating from work was directly related to the collar color and skill level of the respondents; the higher the collar color and skill level, the greater the tendency for the worker to express a sense of pride.

Although less than 20 percent of any occupational category believed their jobs provided them and their families with community influence, larger proportions reported they believed they enjoyed community respect. This was especially the case for the white collar workers. Within both collar color groups, however, the high skilled respondents were proportionately more positivistic.

In response to the question, "If you could start over would you go into the same kind of work that you are now doing?," 55.6 percent of the sample workers answered affirmatively. The blue collar low group would be least likely to begin again in the same occupation (45.9 percent) and the white collar highs the most likely (70.7 percent). Blue collar low subjects (45.9 percent) differed significantly from each of the other three groups. If evaluated on the basis of whether they would want their sons to

go into the same occupation they were pursuing, the response patterns were fairly comparable to those discussed above.

The job factors liked most by the respondents were: intangible considerations (30.7 percent); tangible considerations (22.7 percent); and nature of work (14.6 percent). Greater percentages of workers belonging to the two white collar groups and the high skill blue collar group most often selected intangible considerations over any other response; the blue collar lows cited tangible considerations most often.

Responses were also derived concerning the major "dislike" of each worker with regard to his job. For the total sample, over one-fifth said they did not have any major dislike in their jobs. Roughly the same number specified working conditions as constituting a major source of dissatisfaction. Tangible considerations, including money and fringe benefits, represented a source of dissatisfaction for 15.9 percent of the 642 respondents.

V. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WORKERS AND COMPONENTS OF THE WORK ENVIRONMENT

Participation in the work environment subjects the youthful employee to a variety of relationships that generally differ in kind from those experienced prior to his achieving labor force membership. Furthermore, the young worker confronts a number of discrepancies between previous experiences and the situations he encounters in the work world. Satisfactory adjustments require that the worker considers the relationships emanating from his work roles to be sufficiently rewarding to warrant continued effective participation. This chapter examines the nature of some of these relationships as viewed by the 642 respondents composing the sample. Specifically, the foci are upon selected aspects of the interactional systems existing between the worker and his job, his fellow workers, his supervisor, the bureaucratic organization for which he is employed, and the union.

WORKER-JOB RELATIONSHIPS

The following presentation will provide some insight into whether or not the respondents are experiencing certain job-produced strains, tensions and feelings of alienation. Although this analysis is limited to perceptions held by the worker toward his job, this is not to deny that other relationships of the worker, either in the work environment or external to the work milieu, may also represent sources of alienation. However, these elements will likely impinge, directly or indirectly, upon the nature of the worker-job relationship. By focusing upon the worker-job relationship as the key unit of analysis, it is likely the effects of these other factors will also be measured.

TYPES OF WORKER ALIENATION

An effort was made to partially test some of the hypotheses developed and empirically tested by Blauner (1964). An exploration of the types and extensiveness of alienation should provide additional information on the adjustment problems of the young workers. In Blauner's monograph, four variant forms of alienation are considered. The first is described by the term "powerlessness." A powerless worker is one who is controlled and manipulated by others, including an impersonal system (e.g., technology). The basic position espoused by Blauner is that the more freedom a person has, the less alienated. Although a thorough examination would involve considering a variety of factors, e.g., freedom to make choices and control over quantity and quality of work, this analysis is restricted to determining the worker's freedom from

constraints regarding his pace of work. Consequently, the sample members were asked, "Do you feel you can work at your own speed?"

The second aspect of alienation is "meaninglessness." It is characterized by the predicament whereby the worker does not experience a sense of purpose in his work. This type of alienation generally exists when the worker sees no connection between his own work and the complete product or service. It is logical to assume that an individual who attaches limited importance to his work will probably manifest this component of alienation. The item, "Is your job one of the more important jobs in the functioning of the company?," was employed to elicit responses relative to this type of alienation.

The third form that alienation takes is symbolized by the term "isolation." If a person does not belong to effective social units, he has little chance for self-expression, and the prevalence of this component of alienation is enhanced. The question "Have you made any close friends at your job?" was incorporated in the schedule to ascertain whether or not this condition characterizes the youthful workers interviewed in this study.

Self-estrangement, or the alienation of a person from himself, represents the fourth component of alienation. Self-estrangement would be heightened if the worker felt the need for control and initiative, but the conditions of his work preclude him from realizing these ends. Since boring or monotonous work is most likely to produce this form of alienation, the respondents were asked: "Is your work too monotonous?"

The findings on the extent of alienation characteristic of the 642 young workers are summarized in Table 5.1. Of the four dimensions of alienation measured, the proportion of the total sample reflecting the alienation types ranges from 13.7 percent (powerlessness) to 38.3 percent (meaninglessness).

The findings of this research deviate considerably from a pattern whereby an inverse correlation exists between skill level and the extent of alienation, with the white collar groups exhibiting less alienation than the blue collarites. Furthermore, the results of the present investigation indicate a vast majority of the differences between occupational subgroups are so slight that they are not statistically significant. A fairly consistent exception to this statement relates to the responses on the "pace of work" item. In this case, significant differences result in the comparisons between the following occupational categories: white collar high and blue collar low; blue collar low and blue collar high; and white collar low and blue collar low. For each comparison, the greater amount of "self-estrangement" exists among members of the occupational group in each of the three paired comparisons that occupied a higher level in the occupational structure.

TABLE 5.1

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COMPONENTS OF ALIENATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Components of Alienation	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Cannot work at own speed (Powerlessness)	15.2	8.9	13.5	14.9	13.7
Job not one of the more important jobs (Meaninglessness)	34.3	33.9	28.1	43.6	38.3
Have not made any close friends (Isolation)	13.1	12.5	20.2	21.6	18.5
Job is too monotonous (Self-estrangement)	10.1	16.1	13.5	31.6	23.0

In addition, the comparison between the blue collar low and the blue collar high groups resulted in a significant difference concerning the importance that was attached to work. The members of the latter group as a whole attributed greater importance to their work than the less skillful blue collarites.

With few exceptions, alienation has been traditionally viewed as basically the property of the industrial worker. In fact, the position that the industrial manual worker is alienated in his work has long been a central thesis of the Marxian analysis of modern society.[1] Since the concept of alienation, in its classical

[1]See T. B. Bottomore's translation of certain sections of Marx's works that deal with his alienation thesis. This is found in a book by Erich Fromm (1960).

sense, was used to explain the changes in the nature of manual labor brought about by the industrial revolution, it is understandable that the concept would be most often applied to the blue collar worker. However, with one consistent exception (self-estrangement), there is a pronounced tendency for the worker respondents in this study to provide similar responses to each of the other items measuring different components of alienation (meaninglessness, powerlessness, and isolation), irrespective of collar color and skill level. This finding tends to concur with C. Wright Mills (1951:224-228) who opined that the alienation factors of modern work now include salaried employees as well as the wage-workers. According to Mills (1951:226-227):

> The introduction of office machinery and sales devices has been mechanizing the office and the salesroom, the two big locales of white collar work. Since the twenties it has increased the division of white collar labor, recomposed personnel, and lowered skill levels. Routine operations in minutely subdivided organizations have replaced the bustling interest of work in well-known groups. Even on managerial and professional levels, the growth of rational bureaucracies has made work more like factory production. The managerial demiurge is constantly furthering all these trends: Mechanization, more minute division of labor, the use of less skilled and less expensive workers.

There is also one study (Aiken, Hage, 1966) that indicates relatively high levels of alienation exist among a professional group (social workers) when the bureaucratic structure for which they work is characterized by considerable centralization and formalization.

COLLEAGUESHIP

Seven aspects of the worker-colleague relational system were examined. In addition, the nature of the relationship between young and old employees was explored.

THE INFORMAL WORK GROUP

Beginning with the well-known Hawthorne Experiments (Roethlisberger, Dickson, 1939), there have been a series of studies (Babchuk, Goode, 1951; Horsfall, Arensberg, 1949; Goode, Fowler, 1949) that document the influence of informal work groups on its members. In essence, the informal work group constitutes a reaction on the part of the worker to the social-physical environment of production. It arises because the workers' needs, interests, and feelings are not being met by the formal organization. Informal

work groups emerge as a consequence of the frequent contacts and interactions of the workers. The group members are generally not aware they are members of such a group. The informal group, however, possesses a definite structure, that is, it has leaders, goals, values or rules by which it operates. The informal group establishes certain customs, folklore, norms, and ideas. It has certain techniques at its disposal which can be used to see that the expectations of the group become more important to the individual worker than his own goals.

The novice worker must learn and behaviorally manifest the values, attitudes, goals, beliefs, and sentiments of his informal group. Conformity to the informal group will result in it providing him with relief from monotony, boredom, and fatigue, opportunities for status, an increased flow of emotional responses, opportunity for independence, and increased security (Schneider, 1969:232-242).

The previous discussion attests to the significant roles performed by informal work groups in the promotion of occupational adjustment. Consequently, several items were employed in this research to elicit information about the workers' relationships with co-workers or colleagues. If these relationships are positive in nature, the assumption is made that the workers are conforming to the expectations of their informal work groups, and in the process are accorded rewards that facilitate their occupational adjustments.

The responses to seven items on various aspects of worker-colleague relationships resulted in frequency distributions that did not vary in a statistically significant manner when the occupational subgroups were compared with each other. This result is consistent with what was expected. Although the "content" of the relationship undoubtedly varies from one occupational category to another, there is no reason to expect that the members of one occupational group would, for instance, find their colleagues kinder and more eager to help, than the members of another occupational group.

These findings for the sample as a whole are reported in Table 5.2. For each of the characteristics examined, more than 50 percent of the respondents viewed themselves as having a "positive" association with their worker-colleagues. The word "positive" is used because the responses suggest the worker perceives certain aspects of his co-workers' relationships in such a manner that would indicate a greater propensity for him to be integrated in the informal group structure. To be more specific, five of the seven items were accorded "positive" evaluations by more than three-fourths of the workers. The findings that 50.9 percent of the respondents found "other workers pleasant and not distant" as opposed to 80 percent who revealed they "know most of fellow

TABLE 5.2

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY PERCEIVE SELECTED ASPECTS OF WORKER-COLLEAGUE RELATIONSHIPS POSITIVELY, BY TOTAL SAMPLE

Aspects of Worker-Colleague Relationship	Total Sample (N = 642)		
	Yes	No	No Response
Other workers very kind, eager to help	85.6*	14.0	.3
Other workers hard to get to know	4.8	94.7	.5
Other workers pleasant but distant	48.6	50.9	.5
Know most of fellow workers as friends	80.0	19.6	.3
Associate with the other workers	77.9	21.8	.3
Act friendly to other workers just to get the job done	7.8	91.9	.3
Have many things in common with other workers	69.8	29.7	.5

*The underscored percentages reflect positive evaluations.

workers as friends" are not to be construed as incompatible with each other. This apparent inconsistency can be partially explained by the tendency for bureaucratic employment to foster "pleasant, but distant workers," who are defined as friends if they interact with some regularity on the job with the definer. However, most of these friendships do not extend into extra-work settings.

There is another facet of the worker-colleague interactional nexus that warrants special attention. This pertains to the nature of the relationship between recent entrants into the labor force and the older workers with whom they work.

YOUTHFUL AND OLDER WORKERS

It has been generally accepted, although not empirically tested, that youthful workers experience problems while working with older workers. For example, one writer (Dailey, 1963) indicated that often a new employee will be treated as a whipping boy by older workers. In addition, it was maintained that a novice employee frequently antagonizes older workers by his conception of his own knowledge and importance, and by his attempts to initiate changes overnight. In order to determine whether or not the youthful workers felt they had strained relationships with their senior co-workers, the respondents were asked: "Do you find it hard to work with older people?" The responses to this question are portrayed in Table 5.3.

TABLE 5.3

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO WORK WITH OLDER WORKERS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Do you find it hard to work with older workers?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	8.1	12.5	14.6	21.1	16.7
No	87.9	84.8	83.1	77.8	83.2
No response	4.0	2.7	2.2	1.2	.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1

In over 80 percent of the cases it was reported that young employees encountered no particular difficulty in working with older people. As shown in Table 5.3, the percentage of workers who expressed difficulties progressed from 8.1 percent for the highly skilled white collars, to 12.5 percent for members of the white collar low category. For the workers classified as blue collarites, 14.6 percent of the high skilled respondents and 21.1 percent of the low skilled ones specified they had problems working with older workers. However, use of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of significance reveals that the differences between each pair of occupational groups are not statistically significant.

WORKER-SUPERVISORY RELATIONSHIPS

Findings are reported below regarding the respondents' evaluations of a series of supervisory descriptions. Data on whether the workers, if given the opportunity, would choose another boss are also presented.

EVALUATIONS OF THE SUPERVISOR

Previous research has demonstrated that occupational adjustment as measured by such indices as favorable attitudes and low absenteeism is related to the workers' perceptions of various characteristics of their supervisors. For example, the Mann and Baumgartel's study (1952) reported that low absenteeism was likely to characterize work groups whose members indicated their supervisors did the following: 1) created an atmosphere that was conducive to free and easy discussion of work problems, 2) had time to talk with subordinates about their personal problems, 3) held group discussions with their men, and 4) could be depended upon to "stand up" for subordinates. In fact, the effects of supervision, according to a study by Selvin (1960), goes beyond adjustment on the job. He presented data indicating that the affects of supervision extend into extra-work behavior.

From a variety of sources a series of descriptions were identified that apply to supervisors. The sample members were asked to indicate whether or not each description applies to "the boss," that is, the person whom they thought of as most directly in charge of their work. The percentage distribution of responses are summarized in Table 5.4. An examination of these percentages reveals that six of the 15 supervisory descriptions (nagging, breathes down your neck, expects too much, fair, treats you like a human being, and knows his job) were rated positively by at least 81 percent of the youthful employees. It should be noted that the characteristic receiving the most positive evaluation was "too old," judged to be applicable to their supervisors by

TABLE 5.4

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE EVALUATIONS OF SELECTED SUPERVISORY DESCRIPTIONS, BY TOTAL SAMPLE

Supervisory Description	Total Sample (N = 642)			
	Yes	No	No Response	Total
Fair	81.1*	18.1	.8	100.0
Strict	26.8	72.4	.8	100.0
Expects too much	15.3	84.1	.6	100.0
Knows his job	81.0	18.4	.6	100.0
Listens to what you say	75.5	23.7	.8	100.0
Nagging	9.7	89.5	.8	100.0
Too old	3.1	96.2	.6	99.9
Breathes down your neck	11.1	88.0	.9	100.0
Praises you when you do well	51.5	47.6	1.0	100.1
Explains things clearly	61.9	37.2	1.0	100.1
Stands up for us	63.8	35.3	1.0	100.1
Has favorites	28.8	70.5	.6	99.9
Treats you like a human being	82.9	16.3	.9	100.1
You never know where you are with him	23.2	76.1	.6	99.9
Listens to others because they have been here longer	32.2	67.0	.8	100.0

*The underscored percentages reflect positive evaluations.

only 3.1 percent of the sample. As indicated in the previous section, not only is there not a tendency for older workers to be perceived negatively by their younger colleagues, but in addition, the age differentials between the young employees and their older supervisors are not identified as a problem by a preponderance of the sample members. Four of the other nine characteristics (you never know where you are with him, strict, listens to what you say and has favorites) received positive judgments that represented a proportional range extending from 70.5 percent to 76.1 percent. The characteristics which were among the lowest as to the percentage of the total sample who believed each positively characterizes immediate supervisors are: praises you when you do well (51.5 percent); explains things clearly (61.9 percent); stands up for us (63.8 percent); listens to others because they have been here longer (67.0 percent).

The responses to the 15 descriptive terms or phrases were also analyzed, controlling for the occupational category to which the worker belonged. The respondents' evaluations of only three of these supervisory characteristics resulted in statistically significant differences between paired comparisons of the occupational groups.

A comparison of the ratings of the white collar high and blue collar low respondents regarding whether or not each of them thought his boss would "listen to him" resulted in a disparity that is statistically significant. A significantly greater number of white collar high group felt their bosses did listen to them; the converse was the case for the blue collar low respondents. The two other supervisory characteristics which are significantly unevenly distributed among some of the occupational groups are "boss stands up for you" and "boss praises you when you do your work well." On each characteristic, the white collar high subjects have a significantly more positive estimation, when their estimations are compared with those derived from each of the other occupational groups--white collar low, blue collar high, and blue collar low.

In an effort to further understanding regarding the worker-supervisor relationship, the respondents were asked to select one of five specified choices to this question: "If you felt your boss was being unfair to you would you: complain to 'higher ups'; suffer in silence; quit; tell him about it in private; or get the support of co-workers and speak to the boss as a group?"

Of the total sample, two-thirds of the workers revealed they would "tell him (boss) about it in private." The percentage of subjects selecting this alternative varied importantly from one occupational group to another. This is illustrated by the findings that whereas 85.9 percent of the white collar high workers said their reaction to the feeling that their boss was being

unfair would be to "tell him about it in private," only 56.4 percent of the blue collar low respondents indicated the same reaction.

The alternatives of "get the support of co-workers and speak to the boss as a group" and "complain to higher ups" were chosen by 13.1 percent and 10.0 percent of the total sample, respectively. Percentagewise, twice as many blue collar low employees indicated they would "complain to 'higher ups'," in comparison to those respondents representing each of the other occupational categories. Whereas 18.4 percent and 13.5 percent of the low skilled and high skilled blue collarites, respectively, elected to favor the "get the support of co-workers and speak to the boss as a group" response, only 7.1 percent and 1.0 percent of correspondingly skilled white collar personnel chose this particular alternative. These and other summary findings are reported in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR REACTION TO THE FEELING THAT THE BOSS WAS BEING UNFAIR, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"If you felt your boss was being unfair to you, would you":	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Complain to "higher ups"	6.1	5.4	6.7	13.5	10.0
Suffer in silence	7.1	11.6	5.6	7.6	7.9
Quit	0.0	1.8	0.0	3.2	2.0
Tell him about it in private	85.9	73.2	74.2	56.4	66.3
Get the support of co-workers and speak to the boss as a group	1.0	7.1	13.5	18.4	13.1
No response	0.0	.9	0.0	.9	.6
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

Only one statistically significant difference exists between occupational categories with reference to the alternatives selected if they felt their bosses were being unfair. The differences between the white collar high and blue collar low respondents are significant.

CHOOSING ANOTHER BOSS

The question, "Would you choose another 'boss' if you could?" was asked to secure responses that would serve as a general indication of each worker's evaluation of his immediate supervisor. As Table 5.6 indicates, about one-fourth of the total sample would choose another boss, if they were in a position to do so. The proportion of the workers who prefer another boss varies somewhat from one occupational group to another, although the differences between groups are not statistically significant.

TABLE 5.6

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY WOULD CHOOSE ANOTHER BOSS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Would you choose another boss if you could?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Would choose another boss	18.2	26.8	33.7	23.7	24.8
Would not choose another boss	76.8	69.6	64.0	70.8	70.5
Don't know or no response	5.1	3.6	2.2	5.5	4.7
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

Any study that purports to evaluate supervisory practices is liable to certain criticisms because of the complexities pertaining to the effects of supervision.[2] This study is no exception. However, certain interpretations seem warranted.

In general, these findings suggest the blue collar workers evaluated their immediate supervisors less favorably than did the white collar workers. These results can be partially explained by the structural position occupied by the foreman, the designation normally given to the immediate bosses of blue collar industrial workers. The foreman's position is one which is not easy to categorize as "management" or "worker." Described as the "man in the middle" or "the marginal man of industry" (Wray, 1949), the nebulous nature of the foreman's position is responsible for making his authority, duties, and responsibilities somewhat unclear and ill-defined. At best, he is an agent of management and not a part of it (Gardner, Whyte, 1945). As a structural victim of these circumstances, it follows that the relational problems between the foreman and his subordinates will be enhanced.

This is not to suggest that the white collar respondents were overwhelmingly, and consistently positive judges. Two characteristics are among the highest recipients of negative evaluations from the sample members, regardless of collar color and skill level. Between one-third and one-half of both blue collar groups and one-fourth and about one-half of the white collar groups viewed their supervisors negatively in the "praise" and "explain" dimensions. These fractions represent large numbers of workers who are complaining about supervisory inadequacies that would seemingly be easy to remedy.

As stated above, it was found that the number of workers who would change supervisors is inversely related to the relative skill levels of the two white collar groups, and that the pattern is reversed as far as the two groups of blue collar workers are concerned. Although the lack of a consistent pattern of responses makes interpretation difficult, some prior research (Henry, 1949; Coates, Pellegrin, 1957) is suggestive of one explanation.

High status white collar workers tend to think of themselves as involved in the process of occupational mobility, leading to a successful career. They define themselves as prospective executives and conceive of authority in a manner similar to their executive supervisors who represent a reference group to them. It is possible that highly skilled white collarites consider the authority exhibited by their supervisors as a controlling but

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[2] For a brief discussion of a number of questions that can be raised regarding research on supervision, see Arnold S. Tannenbaum (1966:77-83).

helpful relationship. They perceive their supervisors as persons of more advanced training and experience whom they can consult on special problems and provide them with guiding directives. They do not view the authority figures associated with their work as destructive or prohibiting forces.

In contradistinction to the white collar groups, the blue collar workers tend to be somewhat comparable in regard to success orientations. For one thing, it doesn't make much difference whether they possess highly or lowly valued skills; the chances are great that they will always be subjected to the expectations of an immediate supervisor. By the same token, their career patterns are usually characterized by "mobility blockage" and the opportunity of moving into the supervisory level is almost non-existent. Consequently, there is little incentive or motivation impelling them to identify with an orientation whereby authority is perceived in a relatively positive manner.

WORKER-FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The nature of the relational system between the worker and his bureaucratic place of employment is extremely complex and multifaceted. Consequently, the items in the interview schedule which aimed to elicit responses relating to worker-formal organizational relationships can, at best, present a segmented picture. In the subsequent section, the derived perceptions are primarily oriented toward company rules and expectations, communication systems, advancement opportunities, and managerial sponsored occupational training.

BUREAUCRATIC CONTEXT

In addition to the informal organization, a second type of organization can be conceptually delineated as existing in large scale organizations--namely, the formal organization or bureaucratic structure. Bureaucracy has been defined as "that type of hierarchical organization which is designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in the pursuit of large scale administrative tasks" (Coser, Rosenberg, 1957:433).

The organizational chart is symbolic of the formal organization and portrays the formal role structure, authority system, and status system of its members. By way of a summary statement it can be said that all bureaucracies involve at least four factors: specialization, a hierarchy of authority, a system of roles, and complete impersonality (Blau, 1956:19).

The individual worker comes into direct contact with the formal organization through interaction with its supervisory and

managerial representatives and is constantly being subjected to its demands in the form of official rules, regulations, and prescribed procedures. Although, as Selznick (1943) has written, the goals of the formal organization are modified (abandoned, deflected, or elaborated) by the informal organization, the existence of this type of social structure has a significant impact upon the lives of the workers. It has been demonstrated, for instance, that the structural conditions characteristic of bureaucracies often produce maladaptive adjustment on the part of the worker, regardless of the level he occupies in the bureaucratic structure. Many of these problems have been identified by such terms as "organizational frustration," "red tape," "trained incapacity," "occupational psychoses," and "low morale" (Merton *et al.*, 1952).

The encounter with a bureaucratically structured organization is not a new one for the young worker. For instance, he has spent a number of years as a functionary in the school bureaucracy. However, the demands of the work environment are quite different from those to which youth were accustomed while in school. Whereas the youth was a senior member of his school group, entrance into the work world results in him being a fledgling member of a work group. Mistakes in school assignments resulted in personal type punishments, but inadequate performances on the job may have multiple repercussions affecting many others, as well as inflicting economic loss to the company. Boredom in school may encourage some youth to drop out, while others become alienated and "drift" through school. In a work situation, coping techniques that were applicable to the school situation are not tolerated. The worker is being paid to produce and is obligated to fulfill this responsibility. These problems tend to be compounded in the work environment because the industrial bureaucracy permits the worker limited control over his work and generally expects him to remain passive and submissive, subordinate and dependent.

COMPANY RULES AND EXPECTATIONS

The respondents were asked if they felt the rules that determine company policy are set up to consider the workers. The results suggest that approximately three out of four of the 642 respondents believe the company rules are considerate of the worker. The distribution of the responses according to occupational classification are almost identical when the two skill levels of each group are compared with each other. Although the blue collar workers as a whole tend to be less favorably predisposed to company rules than the white collar groups, the differences are so slight that they are not statistically significant. These findings are indicated in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY FEEL THE COMPANY'S RULES ARE CONSIDERATE OF THEM, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Do you feel the rules that determine company policy are set up to consider the worker?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	78.8	80.4	74.2	74.3	76.0
No	11.1	12.5	20.2	20.5	17.6
No response or don't know	10.1	7.1	5.6	5.3	6.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

It is not an uncommon experience for workers to verbalize that the "company expects too much." How do the young workers feel in regard to this matter? As the percentage of 13.4 reveals (see Table 5.8), only a small number of the workers believe that the company expects too much from them.

The data suggest that the proportion of subjects who feel that their place of employment expects too much of them approximates a pattern whereby there is an inverse correlation between skill level and a positive evaluation, with the white collar respondents more favorably inclined than the blue collar workers to think their company does not expect too much of the young people who work for it. These differences may have occurred by chance as no statistically significant differences characterize the paired-comparisons.

TABLE 5.8

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY THINK THEIR COMPANY EXPECTS TOO MUCH, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Does this company expect too much of the young people who work for it?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	7.1	5.4	14.6	17.5	13.4
No	91.9	93.8	84.3	77.2	83.3
No response or don't know	1.0	.9	1.1	5.3	3.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

As an organization becomes more complex and heterogeneous, communication problems tend to increase. The respondents in this study's sample are employed for organizations which manifest both of these structural characteristics to a great extent. Do these respondents perceive themselves as not being kept sufficiently informed as to know what is going on in the firm? Data related to this question are summarized in Table 5.9.

The ratio of workers who believe they are kept informed to those who feel the opposite is about two to one. Interestingly enough, the lower skilled respondents for each collar group indicate they are kept more informed than their more skillful counterparts. This finding is not consistent with what was expected. It would seem more logical that the workers closer to the upper levels of the hierarchical pyramid would have greater access to the channels of communication. However, it is possible that the expectations of the less skillful respondents are lower than those of the more skillful workers, and accordingly, the requisites for "being informed" were less in comparison to those shared by the more skillful employees.

TABLE 5.9

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE INFORMED ENOUGH ABOUT THE EVENTS WITHIN THE FIRM, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Do you feel that you are told enough about what is going on in the firm to keep you informed?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	63.6	76.8	58.4	62.3	64.5
No	35.4	18.8	41.6	32.7	31.9
No response or don't know	1.0	4.5	0.0	5.0	3.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

ADVANCEMENT POLICIES

Data relating to the workers' opinions concerning what they think is the one factor that gives a person the best chance to get ahead are discussed next. These findings are relevant because they provide insight into the workers' perceptions of the system of distributive justice as it operates in the organization where they are employed. The promotion policies and their implementation are sanctioned by the bureaucrats of an organization.

As reported in Table 5.10, "energy and willingness to work," "educational qualification," "seniority," and "quality of work" were each identified by at least one-fifth of the respondents as affording the greatest likelihood of advancement with the company.

Several differences in the response are noted on the basis of occupational classification. Most significant are the differences reported by workers representing the extremes in occupational levels. The white collar high respondents consider "energy and willingness to work" as the single most important factor for promotion and "seniority" as the least important factor, while the blue collar low employees said that "seniority" was most important and "personality" as least important. Response differences were

TABLE 5.10

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE CITED REASON WHY WORKERS ADVANCE IN THEIR JOBS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"In your opinion, which one thing gives a person the best chance to advance--to get ahead--in this company?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Quality of work	23.2	28.6	18.0	18.1	20.7
Energy and willingness	42.4	26.8	13.5	19.9	23.7
Seniority	4.0	15.2	18.0	27.5	20.4
Personality	9.1	5.4	12.4	6.4	7.5
Educational qualification	16.2	17.0	28.1	24.3	22.3
Miscellaneous	5.1	5.4	10.1	3.5	5.0
No response	0.0	1.8	0.0	.3	.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.2	100.1	100.0	100.1

not appreciably different for other occupational categories except the somewhat unexpected finding that blue collar workers reported "educational qualifications" more frequently than did the white collar workers. There is a degree of inconsistency in the blue collar category between respondents who indicated "seniority" as most important and those who considered "educational qualifications" as paramount. This discrepancy is partially explained when the responses of blue collar workers are divided according to the educational level of the respondent. It was found that workers having the lowest level of educational attainment were most evident in the category which described "seniority" as the reason for promotion. This suggests that blue collar workers with greater educational achievement are oriented to goals which are most congruent with white collar values.

A further analysis of the differences indicates that the blue collar workers who considered "seniority" as most important for promotion were union members while blue collar workers who selected the "educational" factor were less likely to hold union membership.

It should also be noted that with one exception (white collar high versus white collar low) all the other differences between the occupational groups are statistically significant.

MANAGERIAL SPONSORED OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

Few occupations rely exclusively upon formal education as a technique for preparing the worker for specific job tasks. One technique for improving skill performance is on-the-job training. On-the-job training may take a variety of forms--a period of worker orientation before the job is attempted, a training program while the worker is practicing at the task, or some kind of apprenticeship to impart specific job information. The training is instigated and sanctioned by the formal organization. The availability of such training would appear to result in a more positive adjustment by the trainee, as well as a more approbating attitude towards its managerial sponsor.

Data reported in Table 5.11 indicate that slightly more than two-thirds of the workers at all occupational levels considered they had received sufficient training from their employer for the job they were asked to perform. The percentage distributions again suggest the white collar workers believed they had received more adequate training than did the blue collar workers. For the white collar group, 70.7 percent of the high skilled and 80.4 percent of the low skilled workers, reported that their managerial sponsored training had been adequate; the corresponding percentages for the blue collar workers were 59.6 and 64.0. It is worthy to note that for both collar color classifications, the less skilled respondents reported they were more pleased with the adequacy of the training than were the more highly skilled respondents belonging to the collar color classification.

The workers also indicated whether the company for which they are presently employed is about as good as other companies. As revealed in Table 5.12, slightly more than two-thirds of the respondents expressed a definite loyalty to their present place of employment. The proportion of each of the blue collar groups exceeded this fraction slightly, while the converse relationship is evidenced for each of the white collar groups. A possible explanation for the latter finding is that the white collar workers tend to have higher aspirations and not only are more prone to view job changes positively, but also more likely to experience upward vertical mobility when they do move from one company to another.

TABLE 5.11

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAD SUFFICIENT TRAINING FROM THE FIRM FOR PARTICULAR JOB, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Did the firm give you sufficient training for the job you are doing?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	70.7	80.4	59.6	64.0	67.3
No	25.3	18.8	40.4	31.6	29.6
No response or don't know	4.0	.9	0.0	4.4	3.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 5.12

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR COMPANY AS A PLACE TO WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"For a person in your trade or occupation do you think this company is about a good a place as there is to work, or do you think there are other places that are better?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
This company is as good as others	68.7	65.2	75.3	70.2	70.2

(Continued)

TABLE 5.12 (Continued)

"For a person in your trade or occupation do you think this company is about a good a place as there is to work, or do you think there are other places that are better?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Other places are better	27.3	29.5	20.2	25.7	25.7
Don't know	4.0	5.4	4.5	4.1	4.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

WORKER-UNION RELATIONSHIPS

The functions that unions are reputed to serve are broad and diverse. They include the following: 1) achievement of economic benefits in the form of increased wages as well as a variety of fringe benefits, 2) provision of job security, 3) promotion of the status and dignity of the worker and his job, and 4) provision of social participation opportunities for the worker and his family (Taylor, 1968:143-144). The assumption can be made that for many workers unions are instrumental in facilitating worker adjustments. Consequently, it is relevant in this research to assess the extent and nature of the young workers' involvement in union activities. The analysis is limited to a presentation of data pertaining to union membership, union participation, and general attitude towards unions.

UNION MEMBERSHIPS

Based on 1966 statistics (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967) for the United States, 17,940,000 individuals, or 22.7 percent of the total in the labor force, held memberships in unions. In the present study, 337 of the 642 young workers (52.5 percent) reported they were union members.

It is common knowledge and well documented that blue collar workers are more extensively organized by unions than white collar workers. In 1966, for the United States as a whole, there were 2,744,000 white collar union members, compared to 15,195,000 union members, classified as blue collar workers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967). This disparity becomes more pronounced when it is considered that the number of white collar employees in the total labor force exceeds that of the blue collar. It has also been demonstrated that a proportionally greater number of blue collar skilled workers belong to unions as compared to lesser skilled blue collar laborers (Soloman, Burns, 1963). As shown in Table 5.13, data collected in this research effort reflect the national pattern.

TABLE 5.13

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO UNION MEMBERSHIP, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Union Membership	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	3.0	8.9	80.9	73.7	52.5
No	97.0	91.1	19.1	25.1	46.9
No response	.0	.0	.0	1.2	.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Whereas union membership is almost nonexistent among both white collar groups, nearly three-fourths of the blue collar low respondents and four-fifths of the blue collar high workers indicated having union memberships. Comparisons of the differences in memberships between the white collar high and each of the blue collar groups, and between the white collar low and the blue collar groups are each statistically significant at the p=.0005 level.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION ACTIVITIES

Although data on union membership are important for certain purposes, a more effective means of determining the possible impact of unions on its members is to inquire whether or not they participate in union activities. This was done and the findings are summarized in Table 5.14.

TABLE 5.14

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS BELONGING TO UNIONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PARTICIPATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Do you participate in your union?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=337)
	White Collar High (N=3)	White Collar Low (N=10)	Blue Collar High (N=72)	Blue Collar Low (N=252)	
Yes	33.3	30.0	58.3	57.9	56.9
No	66.7	70.0	41.7	42.1	43.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of the 337 workers who specified they were union members, slightly more than one-half (56.9 percent) reported they participated in union affairs. The participation rates of members in each blue collar group was about the same as that of the total union membership sample.

In summary, whereas 52.5 percent of the sample of 642 workers belonged to unions, about one-third (30.4 percent) were actually involved in union activities. The proportion of the sample, according to occupational classification, who belonged and participated was about the same for each group.

ATTITUDES TOWARD UNIONS

It was also of interest to derive some indication of the general attitude held by the youthful employees toward unions.

With this in mind, the respondents were asked whether or not they "agree" with the following statement: "Unions play a significant role not only in bettering conditions for a certain group of people but also in contributing to the welfare of the society as a whole." The evaluations are recorded in Table 5.15.

TABLE 5.15

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

General* Attitude	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Positive	50.5	57.1	76.4	80.4	71.2
Negative	34.3	34.8	13.5	12.6	19.9
Don't know	14.1	8.0	10.1	6.1	8.3
No response	1.0	.0	.0	.9	.6
TOTAL	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

*See item 72 of schedule.

Approximately seven-tenths of the total sample responded with a favorable judgment of the statement specified above. The percentage distribution of positive evaluations vary according to the collar color and the skill level of the respondents. The range extends from 50.5 percent of the white collar high group agreeing with the statement, to 80.4 percent of the blue collar low group.

Paired-comparisons between the evaluations made by the four occupational groups resulted in statistically significant differences for the following: white collar high versus blue collar high; white collar high versus blue collar low; white collar low versus blue collar high; and white collar low versus blue collar low.

On the whole, these findings seem to suggest that the youthful workers who cooperated in this study are more favorably predisposed toward unions than are workers representing a broader age spectrum (*U.S. News and World Report*, August 26, 1968:71-72).

SUMMARY

The work environment provides new types of interaction patterns for the beginning worker. To a great extent, the amount of adjustment is dependent upon the establishment and maintenance of satisfying relationships. This chapter has examined the nature of the relationships between the worker and his job, his fellow worker, his supervisor, the bureaucratic organization for which he is employed, and the union.

Worker-job relationships were analyzed, using Blauner's concepts of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. The proportion of the sample reflecting the types of alienation ranged from 13.7 percent (powerlessness) to 38.3 percent (meaninglessness). With one consistent exception, there is a definite tendency for the workers, regardless of collar color and skill level, to provide similar responses to each of the other items measuring different components of alienation.

Data were collected on seven items bearing on worker-colleague relationships. More than three out of four of the youth viewed their colleagues positively on five aspects of worker-colleague relationships; the other two aspects were judged positively by about one-half and seven-tenths of the 642 respondents. There were no statistically significant differences by occupational groups.

The sample members were asked if they found it difficult to work with older people, testing the general feeling that older workers tend to view new employees as antagonistic and self-important. Difficulties in this area, according to occupational groups, were expressed by the following percentages of workers: white collar high (8.1 percent); white collar low (12.1 percent); blue collar high (14.6 percent); and blue collar low (21.1 percent).

Worker-supervisor relationships have implications for the adaptative processes. Fifteen supervisory descriptions were evaluated by the subjects. Over 80 percent of the respondents rated six of these descriptions positively. Four additional characteristics received favorable evaluations in the range from 70.5 percent to 76.1 percent. Not one of the descriptions was accorded positive endorsement by less than one-half of the sample. The three descriptions perceived least positively by the respondents were: praises you when you do well; explains things clearly; and stands up for us. Only the evaluations of three of the

supervisory characteristics were significantly differentiated across occupational groups: 1) proportionately more white collar high respondents felt their bosses listened to them than did the blue collar low respondents and more blue collar lows than white collar highs felt their bosses did not listen to them; 2) in comparison to the other three groups, white collar high subjects were of the opinion that the bosses stood up for them; and 3) the white collar high group was significantly more positive than any other group regarding their evaluations of boss praises you when you do your work well.

In response to an item eliciting the respondents' behavioral reaction to a condition of supervisory unfairness, two-thirds of the workers indicated "they would tell him about it in private." By occupational groups, the range extended from 85.9 percent to 56.4 percent, for the white collar high and blue collar low workers, respectively. The blue collar workers were much more likely than the white collar youth to react by "getting the support of co-workers and speaking to the boss as a group."

The respondents were also asked if they would choose another boss, provided that this opportunity arose. About one-fourth of the sample responded affirmatively. Group differences existed but were not statistically significant. The number of respondents who preferred another boss ranged from less than one-fifth of the white collar highs to one-third of the blue collar highs.

Since it has been demonstrated that the structural conditions of the formal organization often produces maladaptive behavior on the part of the worker, the nature of his relationships with certain facets of bureaucratic structure were also examined. According to 76 percent of the subjects, the company rules were considerate of the workers. No statistically significant differences among the occupational groups were found. Only 13.4 percent of the sample felt that the company expected too much of them. Although the differences between occupational subgroups were not statistically relevant, there seemed to be an inverse correlation between skill levels and positive evaluations; the white collar workers were less likely than the blue collarites to feel that the company demanded too much of young workers. Approximately two out of three of the 642 workers were of the opinion that they were kept informed concerning what was going on in the firm. The lower skilled workers in each collar group felt more informed than did their high skill counterparts.

Energy and willingness to work, educational qualification, seniority, and quality of work were each identified by at least one-fifth of the sample as affording the greatest advancement possibilities. White collar high employees were most likely to cite energy and willingness to work as the primary consideration and seniority as the least important factor. Blue collar lows

identified seniority as the most important factor and personality as least important. The lower the educational level of the respondent, the more likely he was to consider seniority paramount. Furthermore, the greater the chances that he was a union member.

Over two-thirds of all the workers felt they had received sufficient on-the-job training, ranging from 59.6 percent of the blue collar highs to 80.4 percent of the white collar lows. About two-thirds of the sample felt their company was as good as other companies. Blue collar low group members were slightly more likely to exhibit company loyalty.

Unions may facilitate adjustments for many workers. Slightly less than three out of five of the sample were union members, with the blue collar workers represented more frequently than the white collar workers. About one-half of the union members maintained they participated in union affairs. This means that about one-third of the sample group members were actually involved in union activities. When asked if they believed that unions help specific groups of people and also society as a whole, 71.2 percent of the workers responded favorably, ranging from 50.5 percent of the white collar highs to 80.4 percent of the blue collar lows.

VI. SELECTED ATTITUDES, VALUES, AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS RELATING TO WORK

The major concern of the previous chapter was the respondents' perceptions of certain work relationships for the purpose of demonstrating their implications for worker adjustment. In the present chapter, the purpose remains the same, but the foci of inquiry are upon self-perceptions, attitudes, values, and behavior patterns relating to work.

This chapter begins with two separate discussions on various matters relating to aspirations, expectations, and achievements. The first deals with past expectations and achievements; the second with future aspirations and expectations. Certain facets of work-oriented knowledge constitute the material examined in the next section. This is followed by an analysis of the basic impediments to coping behavior typical of the 642 youthful workers. Some indication of responsibility, maturity, and self-discipline is presented in the subsequent section as revealed primarily by work behavioral patterns. The final topic is concerned with the general attitudes and values the subjects held with reference to work. Under this topic, discussions are centered around attitudes toward work and job preferences.

ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS, AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Sociologists are not always clear as to what they mean by aspirations and expectations (Ohlendorf, Kuvlesky, 1968; Kuvlesky, Bealer, 1966). For analytical purposes, it is important to make explicit the distinctions between these concepts. In this study, aspiration is used to refer to a person's orientation toward a goal. The object involved in an aspiration constitutes a goal which is more or less desired by individuals. Expectations refer to the individual's estimation of his probable attainment in reference to a particular goal-area; the object involved need not represent a goal, and furthermore, need not be desired. Achievement has as its focus the successful accomplishment of some goal-area. Two additional qualifying statements should be made with reference to the usage of the concepts discussed above.

Traditionally, these concepts have referred to future orientations. However, we have taken the liberty to also employ them in the identification of past orientations. In addition, it should be stressed that a person is generally oriented toward a number of goal-areas, e.g., occupation, education, type of residence, income, etc. The central concern in the following section is with aspiration, expectation, and achievement as they pertain to future and past orientations regarding work statuses and roles.

PAST EXPECTATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

It is fairly certain that an individual whose aspirations are unmet will experience some frustration and feelings of deprivation, particularly in relationship to the amount of satisfaction he derives from his work roles. As Kuvlesky (1966) has written: "Our own data indicated a marked positive association between deflection from occupational aspirations to undesired subsequent attainments and degree of negative self-evaluation." More than likely, disparities between expectations and achievements will result in problematic conditions that are maladaptive to a much greater degree. Consequently, it is relevant to examine certain past expectations and achievements of the young workers who participated in this study.

Three questions were asked of each subject which have a bearing on past expectations and achievements. These are as follows: 1) "When you first started working, did you expect to be placed at a higher job level than the one you were placed at?"; 2) "Are you doing as well in your present job as you expected?"; and 3) "In the work you are presently doing, are you making less, more, or as much money as you expected to be making?" The responses to these questions are reported in Table 6.1. Let us first examine the percentages that apply to the sample as a whole, irrespective of the occupational groups to which the sample members belong.

The overwhelming majority of workers (92 percent) consider they were initially placed at a job which was consistent with what was expected. Essentially, this same statement characterizes the distribution of the answers provided by the respondents to the question inquiring if they were doing as well in their present jobs as they expected. In this case, almost 90 percent of the subjects responded affirmatively. The greatest discrepancy resulted when the 642 young workers were asked if their present earnings were in line with what they expected to receive. Nearly 20 percent of the sample said they were making less money than they expected to be making.

Previous research has repeatedly demonstrated that, frequently, important qualitative differences exist between a person's aspirations and what he expects to achieve.[1] In addition, available data (Stephenson, 1957) have shown that expectations are more congruent with achievements than with aspirations. Although the disparities noted in the findings reported above may appear limited, it must be reemphasized that they characterize comparisons

[1] It should be noted that prior research in this area has dealt almost exclusively with future orientations. There is reason to think, however, that much of the findings of these studies would also be applicable to past orientations.

TABLE 6.1

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RESPONSES REGARDING PAST OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATION AND ACHIEVEMENT, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Responses Regarding Past Occupational Expectation and Achievement	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Employed at expected job level	92.9	92.9	86.5	93.0	92.0
Not employed at expected job level	7.1	7.1	13.5	7.0	7.9
Doing as well as expected	85.9	90.2	91.1	88.3	88.6
Not doing as well as expected	12.1	5.4	6.7	8.2	8.1
Don't know or no response	2.0	4.5	2.2	3.5	3.3
Making expected income or more	75.8	74.1	80.9	83.0	80.0
Not making expected income	24.2	25.9	19.1	16.7	19.8
Don't know or no response	0.0	0.0	0.0	.3	.2

between expectations and achievements. Consequently, as previously mentioned, such disparities most likely contribute to the genesis of maladaptive behavior. In addition, if findings of previous studies can be generalized to this research, it can be expected that the young workers' past aspirations are significantly more incongruent with their achievements, than with expectations.

Table 6.1 also shows there is little difference among the response patterns according to the occupational category to which each of the respondents belongs. In fact, no statistically significant differences exist.

Does greater comparability characterize the past expectations-achievements of workers who majored in vocational education while they were in high school, in contrast to workers who pursued other programs of study? Table 6.2 suggests the answer is no since it shows only unimportant variations among educational groups with respect to past expectations and achievement.

TABLE 6.2

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RESPONSES REGARDING PAST OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATION AND ACHIEVEMENT, BY HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM OF STUDY

Responses Regarding Past Occupational Expectations and Achievement	High School Program of Study				Total Sample (N=642)
	Academic (N=294)	General (N=245)	Vocational (N=91)	No Response (N=12)	
Employed at expected job level	93.2	91.4	90.1	75.0	91.7
Not employed at expected job level	6.8	8.6	9.9	25.0	8.3
Doing as well as expected	87.4	89.4	91.2	50.0	88.0
Not doing as well as expected	12.6	10.6	8.8	50.0	12.0
Making expected income	77.6	83.3	80.2	66.7	80.0
Not making expected income	22.4	16.7	19.8	33.3	20.0

FUTURE ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

To a considerable extent, Americans are mobility conscious and success striving. As suggested earlier, mobility and success both derive in large measure from occupational advancement. There are some indications that occupational aspirations play at least some directional role with regard to eventual occupational achievement.[2] As reported above, it is also likely that an individual who does not achieve his occupational aspirations will experience certain stresses and strains which may lead to maladaptive behavior. In order to determine their futuristic occupational aspirations and expectations, the 642 workers were asked to answer two basic questions: 1) "What job would you like to have five years from now?"; and 2) "What job do you really think you will have five years from now?" Using the prestige scores derived by Duncan, the respondent's present occupation was matched against the occupation he desired five years hence, in order to determine if the desired future occupation was higher, equal, or lower in prestige than his present occupation.[3] The worker's present job was also compared with the occupation he thought he would actually obtain five years from now and the prestige of each of these occupations was compared. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 reveal the results of the comparisons.

In general, the career aspirations of these workers are considerably higher than their present job assignments. Almost one-half of the sample members aspired to hold another job with higher prestige. It is significant that only 12.1 percent of the workers desired to remain at their present jobs five years from now. These findings are reported in Table 6.3.

The percentage distributions of the responses to the "occupational aspiration" item are also shown in Table 6.3, controlling for the collar color and skill level of the respondents. Certain major variations are evident from inspecting this table. Proportionally speaking, more than twice as many workers in each of three occupational groups, aspired for different jobs having greater prestige than were the case for the white collar high employees. Significant differences exist when the expectations of the white collar high workers who desired more prestigious jobs are compared with those of each of the other three occupational groups.

These variations between groups are quite logical. Since the white collar high respondents are already incumbents of positions to which considerable prestige is ascribed, it was expected that the desire to secure more prestigious jobs would be less characteristic of them than would be the case of workers belonging to

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[2]For studies pertaining to this matter, see Kuvlesky (1966).

[3]They may be found in Reiss (1961:263-275).

TABLE 6.3

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RESPONSES REGARDING DESIRED JOB ASSIGNMENT FIVE YEARS IN THE FUTURE, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What job would you like to have five years from now?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Same job as present	16.2	8.0	11.2	12.6	12.1
Different job with same prestige	47.5	19.6	32.6	19.3	25.5
Different job with higher prestige	23.2	58.9	47.2	54.4	49.4
Different job with lower prestige	8.1	9.0	4.4	4.9	6.0
Undeterminable	1.0	0.0	0.0	.9	.6
Don't know or no response	4.0	4.5	4.5	7.9	6.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.8

the other three groups. The fact that nearly one-half of the white collar high employees wanted jobs with about the same prestige as their present positions suggests a concern for enhancing certain aspects of their work which are independent of additional prestige allocations.

Having discussed the occupational aspirations of the young workers, let us now examine their job expectations as they were projected five years into the future. As reported in Table 6.4 slightly more than one-half of the 642 workers expected to have their present jobs. Only 4.5 percent shared the expectation of having a more prestigious job five years from now. Similar proportions of respondents reported they expected different jobs with the same prestige (15.4 percent) and lesser prestigeful

TABLE 6.4

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RESPONSES REGARDING EXPECTED JOB ASSIGNMENT FIVE YEARS IN THE FUTURE, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What job do you really think you will have five years from now?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Same job as present	51.5	60.7	41.6	49.1	50.4
Different job with same prestige	23.2	8.0	24.7	13.2	15.4
Different job with higher prestige	4.0	6.3	3.4	4.4	4.5
Different job with lower prestige	10.2	15.1	12.4	14.6	13.7
Undeterminable	1.0	0.0	0.0	.9	.6
Don't know or no response	10.1	9.8	18.0	17.8	15.3
TOTAL	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9

occupations (13.7 percent). By and large, the respondents expecting to have different jobs with lower prestige are fairly evenly distributed across occupational groups. However, the proportions of respondents who expected different jobs with the same prestige are not evenly distributed across the occupational groups; the variation is more a function of skill level rather than collar color.

The finding that a significant number of the employees desired to change jobs, and in most cases, to assume work positions characterized by greater prestige, comes as no surprise.[4] This

[4]The high proportion of employees desiring job change is supported by earlier studies (Chinoy, 1955; Guest, 1954).

is especially the case when it is considered that the sample members are relatively young; high aspirations tend to be particularly characteristic of youthful workers. In time, some of these youth will undoubtedly realize their ambitions. However, it is likely that many of them will soon recognize they lack the educational and personal qualifications that are requisites for the jobs they aspire to enter. The nature of the consequences which the aspiration-expectation discrepancies will have are difficult to predict. It is likely, however, that they will compound the difficulties many workers experience in the process of adjusting to their jobs.

As reported earlier in this chapter, there is a definite tendency for occupational expectations to be more comparable to existing opportunities than are aspirations. A comparison of the respondents' aspirations and expectations tends to support this statement. For example, more than four times as many workers expected to be employed in their present jobs, five years from now, as compared with those who aspired to continue their present employment status. Whereas about one-half of the sample desired a more prestigious job, less than five percent actually believed they would obtain more prestigious jobs.

In summary, it can be concluded that the aspirations of an important number of workers are likely to be very unrealistic. In contrast, their expectations tend to more closely approximate what they will most probably realize.

As revealed by the expectations of these workers, a significant majority are somewhat fatefully resigned about the occupational prospects of their careers, five years hence. At the same time, however, 92.7 percent of the workers maintain that it is important for them to get the jobs they desire. Of this percentage, 40 percent said it was "very important," 30.1 percent replied it was "important," and 22.6 percent thought it was "somewhat important" that their occupational aspirations be achieved. The fact that a vast majority of the workers attach considerable value to aspirational realization contributes to the possibility that for many of these workers, their unmet aspirations will be a source of frustration and feelings of deprivations.

A variety of reasons were advanced to illuminate the discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations. Only one factor was cited repeatedly by the sample members. About one-fifth of them specified that the lack of education, training, and/or experience was the most important factor responsible for the disparities between their aspirations and expectations. Other less important reasons, identified by three to four percent of the youthful respondents were: economic hardship, lack of opportunity, and age.

KNOWLEDGE OF WORK FACTORS

A series of items were used to gather data bearing on the knowledge the respondents had concerning various facets of their work at the time of initial employment. Discussions of the results are presented under the following topics: work routines, learning occupational skills, and perception of employment qualifications.

WORK ROUTINES

It is well-known that many individuals come to their first jobs without the skills required to handle successfully the technological demands of their work. Less often recognized are the occupational difficulties arising out of ignorance of the persistent discipline required of steady, regular employment. The young workers were asked if they knew what it would be like to work eight hours a day, five days a week, when they first started working. Their responses are portrayed in Table 6.5, for the total sample and according to their present occupational groups.

TABLE 6.5

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE REGARDING THE REGULARITY AND PERSISTENCY OF WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"Did you really know what it would be like to work eight hours a day, five days a week when you first started working?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Yes	46.5	49.1	68.5	58.5	56.4
No	51.5	50.9	31.5	41.2	43.1
No response	2.0	0.0	0.0	.3	.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As many as 277 (43.1 percent) of the 642 workers indicated they did not really know what it would be like to work a regular schedule of eight hours a day, five days a week, when they first entered the labor force. Respondents who are presently blue collar workers are apparently better informed than the white collar employees in this respect. For the blue collar groups, a mean of 60.6 revealed they knew what it was to regularly work 40 hours per week, while among the white collar workers, a mean of only 47.9 percent reported having had such knowledge. However, when the responses are compared by the occupational groups to which the respondents belong, the only statistically significant differences characterize the comparisons between the white collar high and blue collar high respondents, and those belonging to the white collar low and the blue collar high groups.

It was expected that workers who had been vocational students in high school would have more knowledge relative to the persistency and regularity of the work day and week. Analysis revealed, however, that this was not the case.

Another question inquired to what extent each young worker knew what his job would require in terms of accuracy, neatness, being on time, etc., when he assumed his first job following high school. Slightly more than one-half of the informants reported having knowledge in this area equivalent to either a "high" or "very high" extent; approximately one-third indicated having only "average" knowledge; and close to one-eighth had either "low" or "very low" knowledge. These data were fairly evenly distributed across present occupational groups and did not vary in a statistically significant manner according to the type of high school preparation pursued by the informant.

LEARNING OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS

The sample members were also subjected to a broader and more indirect question that should shed additional light on their knowledge at the time of initial full-time employment. This question sought information concerning the number of days required by the workers to learn the skills associated with their first work position.

Table 6.6 indicates that more than one-fourth of the sample required less than a week to learn the work skills demanded by their first jobs. Close to one-half of the sample were able to master the skills required by their jobs within less than a one month period. At the other extreme, slightly more than one-fifth of the subjects said it took three or more months before they learned the work skills.

TABLE 6.6

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF DAYS REQUIRED TO LEARN THE SKILLS ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR FIRST FULL-TIME JOB, BY TOTAL SAMPLE

"How many days did it take you to learn the skills and to "catch on" to the things you needed to know about all parts of your job?"	Total Sample (N=642)
Less than one week	26.9
One week to less than one month	20.7
One month to less than two months	11.2
Two months to less than three months	4.5
Three or more months	21.0
Don't know	14.6
No response	.9
TOTAL	99.9

One possible problematic area for the young worker relates to the lack of understanding concerning job expectations. Consequently, an item was included in the interview schedule to ascertain whether or not the informants really knew what they would be required to do when they accepted their first full-time employment following high school. Of the 642 respondents who participated in the study, 39.7 percent were of the opinion that they did not really know what they would be required to do. Although it is difficult to interpret with any certainty what this finding means, the subsequent statements may be appropriate.

For one thing, it appears an unusually large proportion of the youth gave very little consideration or thought to their initial jobs before they accepted them, or they would have sought additional and more complete information concerning the expectations associated with their jobs. On the other hand, it should be the responsibility of management to precisely and explicitly inform prospective employees about the duties characteristic of

the work positions they are attempting to fill. Many problems can be circumvented if the work expectations are clearly delineated and reciprocally understood.

PERCEPTION OF EMPLOYMENT QUALIFICATIONS

A final question, "Did you feel qualified for this type of work when you were hired?," was also asked each of the workers. This question was directed toward securing further information relative to the amount of knowledge the respondents had concerning their first full-time positions.

According to the data, 81.4 percent of the workers indicated they felt qualified for the type of work associated with their initial full-time positions. Of the remaining 18.5 percent, 18.2 percent maintained they were not qualified, while .3 percent did not respond to the item.

Several possible explanations can be given bearing on the difference between the large percentage of young workers who felt they were qualified for their initial jobs and the percentage who did not really know the requirements of these work positions. One possible explanation is that the youth considered himself "qualified" because the employer did--at least, the employer hired him knowing the job better than the applicant did. In the final analysis, "qualified" often is interpreted as a relative statement. It is likely young workers would judge themselves as qualified as others who were hired or on the job.

MAJOR IMPEDIMENTS TO COPING BEHAVIOR

As discussed in Chapter II, the occupational adjustment process is dynamic and continuous. At no given time is a worker "fully" or "completely" adjusted to his job. Rather, it is a condition of being more or less adjusted, and the extent of adjustment or maladjustment varies somewhat from one work situation to the next. Notwithstanding, certain problematic areas are likely to transcend most work situations. These, in turn, represent major impediments to effective coping behavior. The identification of the nature and extensiveness of these obstacles constitutes a formidable step which must be taken if these obstacles are to be alleviated.

Three basic questions elicited responses bearing on this topic. The first question sought information regarding the "most difficult thing" the workers had to learn in the performance of their work roles. A related question inquired if there were things impossible for the respondents to do in this respect. A specific attempt was also made to explore the nature of the relationship

between the workers and their bosses. Lastly, the youthful informants were asked to identify the kind of training which would help them do a better job. The content of the subsequent paragraphs discusses the responses to these questions.

PROBLEM AREAS

A variety of specific factors were cited by the 642 workers as the most difficult thing they had to learn in the performance of their work roles. However, with few exceptions, it was possible to categorize these responses into four broad factors: technological, personal, interpersonal, and organizational. Their percentage distributions are shown in Table 6.7.

TABLE 6.7

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM AREAS THEY HAD TO SOLVE, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"What would you say is the most difficult thing you have had to learn in order to do your job well?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Technological (nature of the work)	48.5	52.7	48.3	43.9	46.7
Interpersonal (getting along with others)	14.1	17.0	11.2	15.2	14.8
Personal	23.2	16.1	21.3	18.4	19.2
Organizational (learning chain of command and working routine)	9.1	6.3	10.1	6.4	7.3
Other	0.0	2.7	0.0	4.4	2.8
None	4.0	4.5	7.8	11.1	8.4

(Continued)

TABLE 6.7 (Continued)

"What would you say is the most difficult thing you have had to learn in order to do your job well?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
No response	1.0	.9	1.1	.6	.8
TOTAL	99.9	100.2	99.8	100.0	100.0

The most frequently mentioned difficulty, identified by 46.7 percent of the respondents, has to do with the nature of the work, i.e., various technologically related activities associated with job performance. This problem area was reported in nearly the same proportion by persons in all occupational categories. The white collar low group deviated the most from the sample mean; 52.7 percent of this group considered this factor as most problematic. Another major difficulty cited by about one-fifth of the sample related to the absence of certain personal qualities (e.g., concentration, patience, self-discipline, responsibility) which were required by their jobs. In both the blue and white categories, the higher skilled workers were more likely than the lower skilled respondents to consider this a problem area. Getting along and working with others was defined as the third most important obstacle impeding effective coping behavior. The principal specific complaints in this instance concern the following: taking orders, waiting for others, and learning the names of co-workers. With reference to this problematic area, the low skilled workers in each collar color group were proportionally overrepresented in comparison to the more highly skilled workers belonging to the same collar color group. The fourth, and least mentioned problematic factor (7.3 percent) was organizational in nature and included getting used to the work procedures, knowing where things are, and the budgeting of time.

Although the occupational groups reported slightly different distributions of problems, only one comparison (white collar high versus blue collar low) was statistically significant.

It was possible for the respondent to indicate that he did not have any major problem of adjustment, but only 8.4 percent of the sample expressed this opinion. The inescapable conclusion is

that a vast majority of the youthful employees encountered major difficulties in the process of attempting to adjust to their work.

It should be noted that the type of program in which the student majored while he was in high school, vocational, academic, or general, had no relationship with the type and extent of problems he encountered as a youthful member of the labor force.

Whereas more than 90 percent of the sample identified a major difficulty in adjusting to their work, less than 10 percent reported there were times in their work when they were not able to perform the expected work roles. There is no important difference in the responses to this question by occupational categories or by educational types.

Another aspect of coping behavior examined in this section pertains to the relationship between the worker and his boss. Specifically, data were collected on how often the worker gets mad on the job, especially how often anger is provoked by supervisory criticism. For the most part, workers in the sample say they lose their temper when criticized by the boss only rarely (34.3 percent), or more likely, never (52.2 percent). Only a small minority admit to losing their temper occasionally (9.0 percent) or frequently (3.6 percent). No response was provided by .9 percent of the respondents.

NEED FOR ADDITIONAL TRAINING

Another question attempted to secure information concerning the need for additional educational and training experiences. Responses by occupational categories and the total sample appear in Table 6.8.

A majority of the respondents suggested that improvements could be made in their training or education which would make them better workers; nearly two-thirds recommended some type of training, education, or additional work experience, while the other one-third indicated that improvements were not necessary or ventured no opinion. Vocational-technical training (general and specific) was identified by slightly more than one-fifth of the sample as the type of training which would help them do a better job. Furthermore, most of the youth who suggested a need for vocational training had in mind the specific kind of training that would be desirable. For example, they frequently mentioned specific vocational-technical courses and curricula like engineering, drafting, welding, electricity, data processing, and machine shop. Proportionate numbers of respondents found in the percentage range extending from 11.4 to 12.0, specified nonvocational training, on-the-job training, and additional work experience as the kinds of training or experience which would help them do a better job.

TABLE 6.8

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE SUGGESTED TRAINING THAT WOULD HELP THEM DO A BETTER JOB, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"At the present time, what kinds of training would help you to do a better job?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
No further training	8.1	29.5	29.2	44.2	33.9
College	13.1	11.6	10.1	2.0	6.5
Vocational-technical training (general)	5.1	3.6	7.9	5.0	5.1
Vocational-technical training (specific)	22.2	10.7	19.1	14.0	15.4
Nonvocational training	28.3	17.9	9.0	5.0	11.4
On-the-job training	4.0	7.2	10.1	16.0	11.8
Additional work experience	14.1	14.3	11.2	10.8	12.0
Other	3.0	3.6	1.1	1.2	1.9
Don't know or no response	2.0	1.8	2.2	1.8	1.9
TOTAL	99.9	100.2	99.9	100.0	99.9

Further examination of the data in Table 6.8 suggests certain patterns in the response distributions according to the occupational classification of the respondent. For example, the percentage of respondents who suggested college and nonvocational

training becomes progressively less as one moves from the white collar high, to the white collar low, to the blue collar high, and to the blue collar low groups. A converse pattern is shown by the relative percentage distribution of occupational group members who indicated they had no need for further training. In fact, whereas 44.2 percent of the blue collar low respondents did not feel a need for additional training, only 8.1 percent of the white collar high workers shared a similar opinion. It is of interest to note that the more highly skilled, regardless of collar color, suggested vocational-technical training more frequently than did the lower skill groups.

RESPONSIBILITY, MATURITY, AND SELF-DISCIPLINE

The attitudinal-behavioral complex suggested by the title of this section has significant implications for the effective performance of adult roles. This is particularly the case with regard to the roles associated with work positions. It is often assumed that youth are irresponsible, immature, and undisciplined, and that these characteristics negatively impinge upon the processes involved in worker adjustments. Various dimensions of this problem area constitute the foci of attention in the ensuing pages.

WILLINGNESS TO EXCEED JOB EXPECTATIONS

According to the tabulated responses shown in Table 6.9, a majority of the respondents in this study must unhesitantly be judged highly responsible, mature, and disciplined workers. At least they overwhelmingly think of themselves as highly motivated, willing to exercise initiative, and relatively free of inclinations toward tardiness and absenteeism.

Whereas nearly seven-tenths of the sample revealed they would be willing to do things at work either frequently (31.6 percent) or occasionally (38.0 percent) beyond that which is required, about three-tenths of the workers said they rarely (22.7 percent) or never (7.3 percent) do things which exceeded job expectations.

ATTITUDES TOWARD RESPONSIBILITY

Only two of the 642 workers were willing to define themselves as less responsible than the average worker. About seven-tenths (72.2 percent) said they were above average as to occupational responsibility, while 27.4 percent considered themselves about average in this respect.

TABLE 6.9

PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POSITIVE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS RELATING TO RESPONSIBILITY, MATURITY, AND SELF-DISCIPLINE, BY TOTAL SAMPLE

Positive Responses Relating to Responsibility, Maturity, and Self-Discipline*	Total Sample (N=642)	
	Number	Percent
Willing to do things at work either frequently or occasionally beyond that which is required	447	69.6**
Consider himself average or above average as a responsible worker	640	99.6
Would take a similar job with same pay and more responsibility	383	59.6
Would take a different job with more pay and responsibility	591	92.0
Would try to figure out and correct own mistakes without getting the boss involved	519	80.9
Rarely or never late for work	552	86.0
Absent from work 1 day or less per month	597	89.4

*For the wording of the questions on which this table is based, in the order in which the positive responses are presented, see items 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, and 53 in the questionnaire.

**The percentages of subjects who did not respond to each of these items range from 0.0 to 1.1.

A majority of respondents in all occupational groups said they would be willing to accept more responsible jobs with salaries comparable to what they are presently receiving. Differences between occupational groups are not statistically significant.

A variety of motivations underlie the willingness to accept more responsibility without a corresponding increase in financial remuneration. Of the 383 respondents who indicated they would be willing to accept a more responsible position paying the same amount as they are receiving from their present jobs, 368 gave specific reasons in support of such opinions. Foremost, among the reasons cited was the conviction reported by about one-third (32.3 percent) that more responsible jobs would provide better opportunities for subsequent advancement. Another 27.7 percent indicated they simply preferred having a job requiring greater responsibility. Another large group of workers (19.3 percent) preferred more responsible jobs because they felt a relationship existed between more responsibility and greater personal satisfaction. Other less frequently mentioned reasons were: demonstrate ability to supervisor (5.2 percent), more prestige (4.1 percent), and be more useful to the company (3.8 percent).

Those workers who said they would decline a more responsible but similarly paying job also were given the opportunity to express the rationale behind these opinions. Two hundred and thirty-five of the 257 workers who would not be willing to accept a more responsible, but similarly paying job cited specific reasons. Nearly two out of three (61.3 percent) of this group said that if they accepted a more responsible job they also should get more money. The judgement of not wanting a job with too much responsibility was expressed by 16.2 percent of this group. Other reasons cited were: not interested (10.6 percent), need more education or training (5.5 percent), and like present job (6.4 percent).

When additional money was offered as an incentive for additional responsibility, much of the previous objection was rendered ineffective. The percentage of men willing to accept more responsible jobs increased from 59.6 percent to 92 percent.

CORRECTING MISTAKES AT WORK

In response to the question, "When you make a mistake in your work, what do you do?," 62.7 percent of the respondents said they would try to figure out how to correct it themselves and 18.2 percent would get someone to help them straighten out the problem. Less than one percent (.8 percent) said they would forget about the mistake. Another 18.3 percent replied they would tell their boss.

TARDINESS AND ABSENTEEISM

Only 13.8 percent of the respondents indicated they were late for work more often than rarely; 11.2 percent said they are late only occasionally, while fewer than three percent said they were frequently tardy for work. Approximately one-half of the men who frequently reported late for work are white collar high respondents. These employees may enjoy more flexible time and work schedules than other types of workers and not be penalized for tardiness.

Not only is tardiness reported infrequently by the workers who participated in this research, but 89.4 percent of them also indicated they were absent from work only one day or less per month. An absenteeism rate of two days per month was indicated by 6.7 percent of the sample, leaving 3.8 percent of the respondents who reportedly were absent three days or more per month.

GENERAL ATTITUDES AND VALUES CONCERNING WORK

Recommendations and new programs should be based partially on a knowledge of the relevant dominant attitudes and values shared by individuals whose lives may be affected. This is particularly true if worker adjustment problems are to be ameliorated. So, this research enquired into the attitudes toward work held by the youthful workers and to ascertain their hierarchy of values as they relate to job preferences.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

The respondents were asked a general question concerning their feeling about working. It is apparent by inspecting Table 6.10 that most of the respondents find satisfaction in work at least some of the time. Few of them admitted hating it or even finding work an unpleasant experience. Slightly more than one-tenth of the subjects expressed an indifferent attitude toward work. Overwhelmingly, the youth in this sample have a positive orientation toward work, with 59.9 percent indicating they usually enjoy it and another 26.9 percent saying they loved to work.

Regardless of collar color and skill level, a vast majority of workers in each of the four occupational groups expressed a positive evaluation toward work. The data show that some variations do characterize the group comparisons. In general, workers with white collars hold more favorable occupational attitudes than do blue collar workers.[5] Within the blue collar ranks, high

[5]These findings concur with those of previous studies (Lyman, 1955; Palmer, 1957).

TABLE 6.10

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD WORKING, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

"In general, how do you feel about working?"	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
Loves working	36.4	40.2	25.8	20.2	26.9
Enjoys it some of the time	59.6	50.9	65.2	61.7	59.9
Has to do it; doesn't really feel anything, one way or another	4.0	7.1	7.9	14.0	10.4
Finds it unpleasant	0.0	.9	0.0	1.8	1.1
Hates working	0.0	.9	1.1	2.3	1.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

skilled employees tend to express more positive evaluations than the low skilled workers. The attitudinal differences between blue collar lows and both white collar groups are significant.

In order to explore further the importance work is perceived to have in the lives of the youthful respondents, they were asked: "Let us imagine you inherited enough money to make a good living (live comfortably) without working. Do you think you would work anyway?" That work is considered in favorable terms is supported further by the fact that 84.7 percent of the sample responded affirmatively to the above question.

Considering the hypothetical nature of the question, the validity of this finding can be challenged. However, the item does seem to refer to a matter on which most workers have

speculated and given some thought. At least this may be inferred when it is considered that only 4.4 percent of the sample were undecided as to what they would do if the hypothetical situation suggested above became a real situation. Furthermore, the present study's finding is consistent with that reported in a paper by Morse and Weiss (1955).

More white collar than blue collar, and within each collar group, more high skilled than low skilled workers said they would continue working. The blue collar high group was more inclined than the white collar low group toward the continuation of work roles, but all differences among groups were statistically insignificant and may have occurred by chance.

In order to use a more indirect approach in determining what the respondents "think" of their present jobs, the 544 individuals who felt they would continue as labor force participants were asked whether or not they would keep their present jobs. Of this group of workers, 44.1 percent said they would keep their present jobs, 50.6 percent indicated they would get another job, and 5.3 percent were uncertain as to what they would do.

The reasons why individuals would continue working when it is not economically necessary are of considerable interest in understanding the meaning and functions of work in their lives. Consequently, the 544 respondents who indicated that a generous inheritance would not inhibit their desires to continue working, were asked to identify the most important reason explaining such motivation. The responses are recorded in Table 6.11.

Initially, it should be noted that 55.2 percent of the 544 workers who expressed the opinion that they would continue working, even though the economic need to work did not exist, cited "positive" reasons. "Negative" reasons were identified by 38.9 percent of the workers. Of all the reasons given, nearly one-third (32 percent) expressed the feeling that, if they did not work, they would "not know what to do with my time." Approximately one-fourth (25.6 percent) of the workers said that working served the positive function of keeping them occupied and interested. Roughly one-tenth (11.4 percent) of the sample said that work "justifies my existence."

The general implications of these findings are in basic agreement with the conclusion reached by Morse and Weiss (1955).

> Not working requires considerable readjustment. The typical employed man does not at present have alternative ways of directing his energy and internal resources and does not at present have alternative ways of gaining a sense of relationship to his society which are sufficiently important to take the place of working.

TABLE 6.11

PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF
WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR CONTINUING WORK

"If yes (inherited enough money to live comfortably), what is the most important reason you would continue working?"	Frequency	Percent
Positive Reasons:		
To keep occupied (interested)	139	25.6
Enjoy the kind of work	47	8.6
Make more money	25	4.6
Associate with people	12	2.2
Justifies my existence	62	11.4
Gives feeling of self-respect	15	2.8
SUBTOTAL	300	55.2
Negative Reasons; without work, would:		
Feel lost, go crazy	10	1.8
Feel useless	6	1.1
Feel bored	22	4.0
Not know what to do with my time	174	32.0
SUBTOTAL	212	38.9
Other	32	5.9
GRAND TOTAL	544	100.0

Apparently, work activity for a majority of these young workers is considered a value in-and-of itself and has become an occupational goal. Certainly, this reason more than all others combined, explains why the youthful workers want to work when money is not the object of their employment. In sharing this orientation, it can be concluded that the youthful respondents, with few exceptions, have internalized successfully a basic value of the American society. For those interested in lessening the difficulties obstructing the adjustment of workers to their jobs, the core problem is not one of convincing job-holders that they should "value" working. Instead, the crux of the problem is to derive a closer approximation to congruency between the needs of the worker and the rewards of the job. Furthermore, it is strikingly evident that the worker is interested in "other things" besides money.

JOB PREFERENCES

Occupational preference is a special psychological condition of the potential worker, distinct from other aspects of the transition from non-work to work. Workers may prefer a certain job, be prepared for a different one, choose a third one, and actually wind up entering a fourth and altogether different kind of work. Occupational preference, preparation, choice, and entry, correspond most typically in the case of the professions, with the likelihood that these qualities will be increasingly less compatible as one descends the occupational prestige hierarchy.

This analysis is limited to four principal occupational attributes which bear directly on job preference. Previous research (Roe, 1956) consistently has shown that workers want jobs which pay well, that they like, that provide opportunity for advancement, and that offer security. In general, a job which manifests the greatest potential for a worker to realize benefits in these areas represents the occupational ideal, but most jobs are characterized by attributes that deviate considerably from this ideal. Thus, as a practical consideration, workers often must choose which of these characteristics ranks highest in priority among their values.

The 642 respondents were asked the following: "Let us imagine that you have been offered two jobs. For each of the following pairs, choose "1" or "2" as that which is more important in deciding between jobs, other things being equal. A job offering:

- (1) good pay or (2) work you like
- (1) good pay or (2) opportunity for advancement
- (1) good pay or (2) security

- (1) work you like or (2) opportunity for advancement
- (1) work you like or (2) security
- (1) opportunity for advancement or (2) security."

Table 6.12 reveals the percentages of first preferences in making these dichotomous choices.

TABLE 6.12

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MORE IMPORTANT PREFERENCES IN MAKING DICHOTOMOUS CHOICES OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL ATTRIBUTES, BY TOTAL SAMPLE (N=642)

Occupational Attributes	More Important Preference*			
	Good Pay	Work You Like	Opportunity for Advancement	Security
Good pay	--	73.8	82.8	70.2
Work you like	25.5***	--	36.6	45.0
Opportunity for advancement	16.7	62.6	--	43.6
Security	28.8	54.2	55.3	--
MEAN**	23.7	63.5	58.2	52.9

*The "no responses" to the five dichotomous choices range from .5 percent to 1.1 percent of the total sample.

**The mean was computed by totalling the percentages of the sample which accorded first preferences to a given occupational attribute, in each of three dichotomous comparisons, and dividing by three.

***This is to be interpreted as meaning that 25.5 percent of the respondents preferred "good pay" to "work you like" as being more important in deciding between jobs.

As shown by the mean scores in Table 6.12, the respondents prefer "work they like," "opportunity for advancement," "security," and "good pay," in that order, as attributes of their work. Without exception, "work you like" was considered more important in deciding between jobs by a majority of the informants. By contrast, without exception, "good pay" consistently ranked as their second preference to whatever other occupational attribute matched against it. Standing between these two extremes of preferences were "opportunity for advancement" (chosen by a majority of respondents in two of three matchings) and "security" (chosen by a majority of respondents in one of three matchings).

SUMMARY

The content of this chapter has centered around certain basic self-perceptions, attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns that appeared relevant in the study of the worker adjustment problems of youth. Discussions of the data secured from the 642 youthful workers pertained to the following topics: aspirations, expectations, and achievements; knowledge regarding the work routine and job expectations; basic impediments to coping behavior; responsibility, maturity, and self-discipline; and general attitudes and values concerning work.

Disparities between expectations and achievements are often contributory to maladaptive behavior in the work environment. In this sample, however, 92 percent believed they were initially placed at the job levels they had expected and almost 90 percent felt they were doing as well as they expected in their present jobs. However, almost 20 percent of the young employees indicated their present earnings did not match their expected earnings. There was no significant difference among occupational groups.

The workers were asked what job they hoped to have five years hence. Almost 50 percent of the sample desired jobs of higher prestige, whereas only 12.1 percent wished to remain at the same occupational level. More than twice as many workers in occupational groups other than the white collar high group aspired for more prestigious jobs. Slightly more than 50 percent of the workers actually expected to hold the same jobs five years from the survey, 15.4 percent expected different jobs with the same prestige, 13.7 percent expected lower prestigeful jobs, and only 4.5 percent expected to be incumbents in occupational positions of greater prestige. The only significant difference among occupational groups was between the blue collar highs and the white collar low respondents.

A comparison of the aspirations and expectations of the workers revealed certain discrepancies which may have negative implications for worker adjustment processes. Although about one-half of

the sample aspired for more prestigious jobs, less than five percent actually believed that their jobs five years hence would be more prestigeful. The job expectations of the youthful respondents were considerably more congruent with existing opportunities than were their aspirations. However, 92.7 percent of the sample felt that it was important for them to attain the positions desired. The only factor which was suggested consistently by the youth (one-fifth of sample) as an explanation for the aspiration-expectation disparities pertained to education, training, and/or experience.

The amount of knowledge which the respondents had regarding certain facets of work routines, at the time of initial full-time employment, was also examined. As many as two out of five workers said they had not known what it would be like to work 40 hours a week. The blue collarites were more likely than the white collarites to indicate they were informed in this respect. Vocational high school training seemed to have made little difference in the amount of knowledge shared by the respondents.

When questioned about the knowledge of accuracy, neatness, being on time, etc., needed for their first jobs, 50.6 percent of the young workers indicated they had considerable knowledge of these job requirements, 35.7 percent only had average knowledge and 13.5 percent had little knowledge. Occupational grouping or type of high school preparation did not cause significant variation in the response patterns.

A question was asked which determined the number of days required by the workers to learn the skills associated with their initial post-high school work position. About one-fourth of the sample were able to learn job-connected skills within the first week of employment; it took one-half of the respondents from one week to less than one month to learn these skills. About one-fifth of the workers required three or more months to learn the job skills.

It is relevant to know if the workers really knew what they would be required to do when they accepted their first jobs. Almost two out of five workers reported not having this information. In addition, almost one out of four did not feel that they were qualified for their initial work positions.

Problem areas for effective coping behavior at work were explored. The most difficult kinds of things the workers had to learn in job performance were reported to be: technological (46.7 percent); interpersonal (19.2 percent); personal (14.8 percent); and organizational (4.3 percent). Technological problems showed little variation by occupational level. High skilled workers in both collar color groups were more likely to have interpersonal difficulty than low skilled employees. Only 8.4 percent of the

sample specified they had no major adjustment problems. High school program had no relationship to coping problems in either type or extent. Less then 10 percent of the workers reported that situations did arise wherein they were not able to perform the expected work roles.

Nearly two-thirds of the workers indicated some sort of training, education or experience would better equip them for their jobs, vocational training being the most frequently mentioned (20.5 percent). By occupational categories, the higher the worker's classification, the more likely he was to suggest college or nonvocational training and, conversely, the lower the level of classification, the more likely was the worker to feel he needed no further training.

It is often assumed that most youthful workers are irresponsible, immature, and lacking in discipline, and that these conditions impede adjustment to work. This study showed that a majority of the respondents did not perceive themselves as reflecting these characteristics. About seven-tenths of the sample indicated a willingness to do things at work which exceeded job expectations. Only two workers defined themselves as less responsible than the average worker. A majority of the workers in each of the four occupational categories said they would be willing to accept more responsible jobs with the same salaries as their present jobs. The reasons cited for accepting a more responsible but similar paying job included better advancement opportunities (32.3 percent); preference for more responsibility (27.7 percent); and greater personal gratification (19.3 percent). The primary reasons for not accepting such work were the feelings that more responsibility should yield more money and that additional responsibility was not desirable. If the incentive of more money was offered, however, 92 percent of the 642 workers were willing to accept more responsible positions.

If they made a mistake in their jobs, only .8 percent of the sample said they would forget about it. In contrast, 62.7 percent stated they would try to correct it themselves, and 18.2 percent would seek help to rectify the mistake. Very few of the workers reported being late for work frequently (three percent) and about one-half of these were white collar high workers who probably had flexible schedules which allowed for tardiness. With regard to absenteeism, 89.4 percent indicated they were absent from work only one day or less per month, 6.7 percent two days per month, and 3.8 percent were absent three or more days per month.

Additional findings revealed that the overwhelming majority of the sample had a positive orientation toward work. There was a tendency for a positive relationship to exist between collar color-skill level and work satisfaction. Close to 85 percent of

the workers reported they would work even if it were not monetarily necessary for them to do so. Of this group, more than four out of seven would keep their present jobs and about one out of two would seek new positions. The most frequently cited reasons for work continuation were as follows: would not know what to do with their time (32 percent); to keep occupied (25.6 percent); and justifies existence (11.4 percent).

Sample respondents were offered dichotomous choices to elicit their reasons for job preferences. The youth preferred work they liked, opportunities for advancement, security, and good pay, in that order.

VII. WORK PATTERNS

Miller and Form (1964) have suggested a typological breakdown of the male's life work pattern: preparatory, initial, trial, stable, and retirement. In the main, the age criteria used in selecting the sample for this research restrict this analysis to the trial period, a transitional stage for most workers. It begins when the youth has completed his formal education and "seeks his first full-time work position and continuing until he has secured a work position in which he remains more or less permanently" (Miller, Form, 1964:542).

The content of this chapter diverges considerably from that typically presented in sociological treatments of this subject matter.[1] This is explained partially by the fact that the youthful status of the workers permits only a limited longitudinal view of their job histories. In addition, the data were examined in such a manner so that interpretations could be made which would have a more direct bearing upon the central focus of this report--namely, the worker adjustment problems of youth in transition from school to work.

Presentation of the findings relative to the work patterns of 642 youthful workers are divided into three major headings: occupational career patterns; occupational employment tenure patterns; and organizational career patterns.

OCCUPATIONAL CAREER PATTERNS

Occupational career pattern refers to the entire period of an individual's participation as a member of the labor force, regardless of the quantity and kinds of jobs and organizations in which he may have been employed (Slocum, 1966:5). Three topics bearing on the occupational career patterns of the sample members are discussed: overall mobility pattern; career progression; and categorical mobility pattern.

OVERALL MOBILITY PATTERNS

The overall mobility pattern of each respondent was determined by comparing the prestige level of his initial full-time job with that of his present job (at the time of the survey). Three different types of mobility patterns were identified:

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[1]For examples of excellent sociological treatments, see two papers by Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix (1952).

upward, downward, and stable. The scores presented in Reiss (1961: 263-275) were employed as a basis for determining the prestige levels of the occupations. If the respondent's first job had greater prestige than that ascribed to his last job, the mobility pattern was characterized as upward; a converse pattern was referred to as downward. An initial-present job comparison that reflected no change in prestige level was classified as a stable mobility pattern.

It was possible to categorize the mobility patterns of 493 of the youthful workers. A total of 127 other respondents were still employed in their initial jobs; the mobility patterns of an additional 22 interviewees were not discernible from the data collected. About one-half (48.8 percent) of the 493 youthful workers had experienced upward mobility. The remaining respondents were almost equally divided between the other two types of mobility patterns; 27.2 percent had stable patterns and 24.0 percent had downward patterns.

Data concerning the type of mobility pattern, controlling for the occupational level of the respondent, are presented in Table 7.1. The only significant difference in the distributions resulted when the mobility patterns of the white collar low workers were compared with those characteristic of the blue collar low workers. There is a greater tendency for low skilled white collarites to experience upward career mobility, whereas downward career mobility was more typical of the blue collar low employees.

These results may be explained by the prevalence of more opportunity for vertical upward mobility among white collar workers than blue collar workers. It is commonly accepted that the opportunities within white collar occupations are expanding more rapidly than occupational opportunities generally.

The question arises as to whether or not any significant differences exist in types of mobility patterns between respondents holding similar jobs and individuals pursuing different jobs, controlling one at a time, for the factors of age and marital status.

The respondents were categorized as to three age groups; 21 years or less, 22 to 23 years, and 24 or more years. One significant difference, at the .05 level, was found to characterize the mobility pattern comparison of the 22 to 23 year old employed in white collar high and blue collar low positions. A more pronounced upward mobility pattern was characteristic of the white collar highs; a downward mobility pattern was more typical of the blue collar lows. When each of the four variant occupational groups was compared with each other, according to marital status, the only significant difference in pattern of mobility resulted from the "married" white collar low and "married" blue collar low

TABLE 7.1

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF MOBILITY PATTERN, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Type of Mobility Pattern	Occupational Category			
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)
Upward	45.5	47.2	41.6	31.0
Stable	22.2	14.3	16.9	23.1
Downward	8.1	6.3	15.7	26.0
Not discernible	1.0	1.8	2.2	5.0
Not applicable	23.2	30.4	23.6	14.3
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

comparison. A higher proportion of the "married" and low skilled white collar employees was upwardly mobile; a higher proportion of the "married" and low skilled blue collar youth had either stable or downward mobility patterns.

What is the nature of the relationship existing between certain measures of worker adjustment and the overall mobility pattern characteristic of the work histories of the 642 workers who participated in this study?[2] A chi-square test identified no significant difference in the overall mobility patterns (upward, stable, downward) of respondents who answered negatively and those who answered positively to the "changing job" and "frustration"

[2]These questions are: 1) Have you ever thought seriously about changing your job?; 2) Is your work often frustrating?; 3) Do you think the job you are in is the right sort of job for you?; and 4) Did you expect to be placed in a higher job level?

items. However, significant differences were found for the "right sort of job" ($p < .01$) and "higher job level" ($p < .05$) items.

CAREER PROGRESSION

A model of career progression, concordant with the American success ideology in its maximum degree of development, can be used as a base with which to compare the occupational mobility patterns of the sample members. The generalized theoretical model involves the occupancy of a position by the youthful entrant into the work world, that is followed by a sequence of promotions into higher-level jobs, successively involving greater responsibility and rewards.

The work histories of the young workers were inspected to determine the type of career progression characteristic of their career patterns. Four types of career progression were delineated: upward, downward, stable, and erratic. Upward career progression refers to a series of two or more work positions wherein each successive job has a higher prestige level than the previous job(s); a downward career progression represents the opposite. A stable career progression is characterized by a series of jobs which are ascribed essentially the same prestige level. The absence of a constant pattern in the prestige level accorded two or more work positions was described as an unstable career progression. It should be noted that only civilian occupations were examined in determining the types of career progressions.

It was necessary to exclude 219 respondents from the analysis because: 1) they had a work history limited to one job; 2) it was not possible to ascertain the pattern from the data provided; and 3) their pattern did not fully approximate any of the suggested types. Of the remaining 432 respondents, 32.7 percent had an unstable career progression; 31.3 percent exhibited a constant pattern; 12.8 percent had a work history reflecting an upward career progression; and 6.4 percent had a downward career progression. In summary, a comparison between the theoretical model and the career progression patterns of 423 youthful employees indicated that 87.2 percent of the latter's work histories did not conform to the theoretical model.

Appropriate data were not collected in this research indicating the extent to which sample members subscribed to the theoretical model of occupational career progression. However, there is reason to believe that, in one degree or another, a significant proportion of American workers have aspirational systems more congruent with the "American Dream" than they do with the realities of the work world. As shown above, the vast majority of the youthful employees do not have career patterns that fully

approximate the "American Dream."[3] As Chinoy (1955) stated: "The tradition of opportunity imposes heavy burdens upon workers who must repeatedly reconcile desire, stimulated from diverse sources, with the realities of working-class life." It is likely that for many workers this ideal-real inconsistency is a major source of job dissolution and discontent.

Does the general type of occupational endeavor a person pursues have any relationship to type of career progression likely to characterize his work history? Inspection of Table 7.2 reveals certain differences in types of career progression, controlling for the informant's occupational level. For instance, the proportion of blue collar highs who had an upward career progression pattern was twice that of the blue collar lows. The unstable pattern was considerably less characteristic of the white collar low group, than either of the other three occupational groups. However, only one comparison, white collar low versus blue collar low, resulted in a statistically significant difference.

The career progression data, according to the occupational level of the respondent, were also analyzed by holding constant the type of high school education received. Statistical treatment revealed no significant differences between the comparisons. However, certain statistically relevant differences emerged when the respondents were compared as to their type of high school education (academic, general, vocational), controlling for whether or not the subjects felt they were using their high school education on their present jobs. Significant differences resulted from comparisons between vocational education students, presently using training and "general" students, not presently using training and vocational education students, presently using training and "general" students, presently using their high school training.

The significance to be attached to the data presented in the previous paragraph is summarized by the following points: 1) being a vocational student in high school only takes on importance with reference to career progression if that training is used on the job, 2) the importance is limited to comparisons with "general high school students" and not those who majored in "academic" programs of study. This would seem to suggest that a "general" high school major tends to place a person in a disadvantaged circumstance when it comes to realizing an occupational career characterized by progressively more prestigious positions. These

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[3]This condition is not limited to youthful entrants in the labor force. For example, see a study by Garbin and Ballweg (1965).

TABLE 7.2

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF CAREER PROGRESSION, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Type of Career Progression	Occupational Category			
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)
Upward	9.0	9.8	13.5	6.4
Downward	0.0	2.7	4.5	5.9
Stable	22.2	14.3	16.9	23.1
Unstable	34.4	20.5	30.3	36.8
Not applicable or discernible	34.4	52.7	34.8	27.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

findings are quite logical. We are living in a society which is increasingly becoming "specialization personified." The generalist, from the standpoint of training and knowledge, can expect the rewards which accrue to occupational success to be more elusive.

Only one significant difference ($p < .05$) resulted when the responses to one (Do you think the job you are in is the right sort of job for you?) of the four worker adjustment items are cross-classified with the categorical mobility patterns of the workers.

CATEGORICAL MOBILITY PATTERNS

The occupations of the respondents were classified according to the following broad categories: professional and technical; managerial and official; sales; clerical; craftsman; operative; service; farmer; and laborer. The work history of each respondent

was inspected to ascertain whether or not all his jobs belonged to the same occupational category ("single" occupational category mobility pattern), or if his work history included jobs in more than one occupational category ("multiple" occupational category mobility pattern). The work histories of 21.5 percent of the sample were not amenable to an analysis of this nature. A multiple pattern was exhibited by 63.7 percent; a single pattern by 14.8 percent.

The collar color and skill level of the respondent's present job was controlled to determine if a given type of categorical mobility pattern was peculiar to workers in a particular occupational group. The percentage distributions portrayed in Table 7.3 suggest this is not the case. Although a significant difference was found to exist between the white collar low and blue collar low patterns, this may be explained by the major difference in undeterminable cases, rather than differences as to the two types of occupational category mobility patterns.

TABLE 7.3

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORICAL MOBILITY PATTERN, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Type of Occupational Categorical Mobility Pattern	Occupational Category			
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)
Single	17.2	10.7	12.4	15.5
Multiple	55.5	58.0	61.8	68.1
Undeterminable	27.3	31.3	25.8	16.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Examination of the categorical mobility pattern of each respondent classified according to occupational category and type of high school education, did not reveal any significant differences between the various comparisons. However, a statistically significant difference exists when the categorical mobility pattern of former vocational students who are using their training, was compared with the patterns characteristic of the former vocational students who are not using their training. Nearly one-fifth of the young workers in the "vocational-not using" group had "multiple" patterns, as opposed to one-half of the "vocational-using" group. Whereas one-half of the former vocational students using their previous training, had a "single" occupational category mobility pattern, about three-fourths of the vocational students not using their training, had a "single" pattern. This would seem to suggest that there is a tendency for former vocational students who are not using their high school training to "flounder" from one occupational category to another. Based on the discussion found in the previous section, it would be expected that this "floundering" is not directed towards higher levels in the work world.

Again there seems to be very little statistically significant relationship, if any, between the responses to the four worker adjustment items and the categorical mobility patterns of the workers. In fact, the only significant difference ($p < .05$) occurred when the answers to the question, "Did you expect to be placed at a higher job level?," were cross-classified with the categorical mobility patterns of the workers.

OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT TENURE PATTERNS

Various analyses of the respondents' employment tenure pattern were pursued in order that inferences could be drawn relative to job stability. Initially, data are presented regarding the number of work positions occupied by the 642 young workers since becoming full-time members of the labor force. Subsequently, discussions are presented concerning the mean tenure of initial employment and the overall employment tenure pattern.

NUMBER OF JOBS

The work histories of the respondents were examined to determine the number of full-time jobs that each respondent had held. Table 7.4 contains the percentage distributions for the sample. The table discloses that slightly more than three-fourths of the sample had been employed in either one, two, or three jobs. More respondents (31 percent) had two jobs than any other number of jobs. Approximately one out of four of the respondents (23.7 per cent) had four or more jobs since their entrance into the labor force.

TABLE 7.4

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF JOBS HELD,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Number of Jobs	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
One	29.3	32.1	25.8	15.5	22.0
Two	23.2	37.5	27.0	32.5	31.0
Three	20.2	15.2	27.0	25.1	22.9
Four	20.2	8.0	10.1	15.2	14.0
Five or more	7.1	7.1	10.1	11.1	9.7
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.3
TOTAL	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9

Findings are also presented in Table 7.4 pertaining to the number of jobs held by the subjects, according to occupational classification. For each of the four occupational groups, a majority of the workers had occupied one or two work positions. In addition, each of these groups had at least 20 percent of their members who held four or more jobs since high school, with the exception of the low skilled white collar workers (15.1 percent).

Statistically significant differences existed when the number of jobs held by the white collar high workers were compared with those held by white collar low respondents, and in the comparison between white collar low and blue collar low respondents. It should be noted that over twice as many blue collar low than white collar low youthful workers had only one job listed in their work histories.

Is there a tendency for workers with a vocational education background to have work histories suggestive of greater job stability, as measured by the number of jobs held, than workers with either general or academic backgrounds? Results from a test of significance indicate a negative response to this question. One significant difference occurred, however, when educational type and whether or not the worker indicated usage of his high school training on his job, were controlled simultaneously. This difference existed between the workers with a vocational background (presently using their training) and those with a background in general education (presently not using their training), with reference to the quantity of positions held; individuals in the former group had fewer jobs.

In the past it may have been appropriate to equate job stability with occupational adjustment. However, as mentioned in Chapter I, such an equation no longer seems applicable. The motivation for changing jobs may be reflective of goals other than those characterized by the desire to become an incumbent of a work position in which a higher degree of adjustment is obtainable. To some extent, the data of this research support the above contention. For example, the responses to three of the four worker adjustment items are not significantly different when they are cross-classified with the number of jobs held by the workers. Only one significant difference resulted when the responses to the item, "Did you expect to be placed at a higher job level?," were analyzed, controlling for the number of jobs ($p < .05$).

LENGTH OF TIME EMPLOYED ON INITIAL JOB

Findings regarding the amount of time each youthful employee held his first full-time job were discussed and presented in tabular form in a previous chapter (see Chapter 3, Table 3.16). However, these data are particularly relevant to the discussion of work careers and will also be considered briefly at this time. One-half of the sample held their first jobs for at least one year. Approximately, one-third of the respondents said their first full-time work position was less than six months in duration. These findings seem to indicate that the "trial" period in the work careers of a vast majority of the youthful respondents is not as much a disorganized and uneven process as might be imagined.

What is the relationship between the length of initial full-time employment and the responses to the four worker adjustment items? Only one statistically significant difference resulted. A probability of .01 emerged when the length of initial job employment was cross-classified with the responses to the "right sort of job" item.

Each of the four occupational groups had at least 45 percent of its workers who reported working one year or more on their initial jobs; two groups, white collar low and blue collar low, had approximately 60 percent of their members respectively who specified a comparable time period. Whereas almost 25 percent of the white collar lows and blue collar lows accordingly indicated employment of less than three months on their first jobs, slightly more than 30 percent of both the white collar low and blue collar low groups reported similar initial employment periods. The collar color and skill level of the respondents' present job was controlled to determine if any relationship existed between this variable and the length of time they had worked on their first jobs. Significant differences were found to characterize the comparisons between white collar high and white collar low and white collar high and blue collar low.

OVERALL TENURE PATTERNS

The employment tenure of each sample member for each job held were examined in order to answer the following question: "Is there a tendency for the length of employment to increase or decrease as a worker transfers from his initial job to successive jobs?" It was not possible to answer this question for 176 (27.4 percent) of the 642 respondents. They either had only one job, an employment tenure pattern that did not reflect a definite direction, or the appropriate information was not available. The remaining youth were almost distributed equally among those who had experienced successive increments in length of job employments (36.5 percent) and those whose employment tenure patterns reflected successive decrements (36.1 percent).

Table 7.5 was prepared to show the distributions of the sample according to length of employment tenure patterns when controls are maintained for occupational skill level. Only one of the six sets of comparisons between occupational groups yielded a difference that was significant; the length of employment tenure patterns of the white collar lows was significant from those of the blue collar lows.

ORGANIZATIONAL CAREER PATTERNS

Work patterns may also be viewed by inspecting the organizational locus for each occupation that a person has pursued. The central interest becomes that of examining work histories to shed light upon the organizational career patterns of the respondents.[4] That is, the focus of inquiry is upon various aspects

[4]For an excellent book of readings on this problem area, see Barney G. Glazer (1968).

TABLE 7.5

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT TENURE PATTERN, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Type of Employment Tenure Pattern	Occupational Category			
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)
Successive increments	28.3	30.4	44.9	38.7
Successive decrements	40.4	33.0	28.1	38.1
Undeterminable	8.1	5.4	4.5	7.6
Not applicable	23.2	31.3	22.5	15.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

of mobility or movement from one distinct organization to another, regardless of the number of similar or dissimilar occupational positions the worker has occupied in the process.

Data on the organizational career patterns of the 642 respondents should lead to deductions that may have some relevancy for a study on occupational adjustment. The analysis of organizational career patterns is limited to two major considerations: number of organizations in which jobs were held, and the extent of return-mobility organizational career patterns.

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS

Table 7.6 presents findings regarding the number of different organizations in which the young workers were employed. Approximately one-fourth (22.3 percent) of the 642 respondents had employment histories characterized by intraorganizational employment. Although some of these workers may have held a variety of jobs within specific organizations, each had been in the employ of the

TABLE 7.6

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR WHICH THEY WERE EMPLOYED, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Number of Organizations	Occupational Category				Total Sample (N=642)
	White Collar High (N=99)	White Collar Low (N=112)	Blue Collar High (N=89)	Blue Collar Low (N=342)	
One	27.3	34.8	24.7	16.1	22.3
Two	23.2	35.7	28.1	32.2	30.9
Three	19.2	17.0	25.8	26.0	23.4
Four	20.2	6.3	10.1	14.9	13.5
Five or more	10.1	6.3	11.2	10.2	9.6
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	.6	.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0

same organization since leaving school. Slightly more than three-fourths of the youthful males had worked for multiple organizations, or had organizational career patterns characterized by inter-organizational-mobility. Of the 397 respondents who had occupied positions in multiple organizations, close to 50 percent had worked for three or more organizations.

Previously, it was shown that only one difference between the number of jobs a person held and his responses to four worker adjustment items was statistically significant. When the number of organizations for which a person was employed is cross-classified with the responses to the worker adjustment items, no statistically significant differences were found. On the basis of data collected in this research, it appears that the extent of job and organizational changes has no particular relationship to the extent of occupational adjustment.

The association between the worker's skill level and number of organizations was explored; these results are also reported in Table 7.6. A statistical analysis of these distributions indicated that significant differences existed in the comparisons between white collar high and white collar low, white collar low and blue collar high, and white collar low and blue collar low. White collar low employees were employed in significantly fewer organizations than workers who belong to each of the other three groups of workers.

NUMBER OF RETURN-MOBILITY PATTERNS

A return-mobility pattern is exemplified by an organizational career pattern in which a worker "returns" to work for an organization, for which he was employed formerly, after having occupied positions in one or more different organizations. Examination of the data indicated only 3.4 percent members of the total sample had an organizational career characterized by return-mobility. It was not possible to determine whether 35.8 percent of the young workers had a return-mobility pattern, because they either had been employed for only one or two organizations, or incomplete information was provided. However, 60.8 percent of the sample did not possess work histories reflective of what has been described as return-mobility organizational career patterns.

SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the work careers of 642 youthful respondents during their "trial" periods, for the purpose of deriving interpretations bearing on the adjustment problems of young workers. The major topics considered were occupational career patterns, occupational employment tenure patterns, and organizational career patterns.

Three types of overall mobility patterns were conceptualized: upwardly mobile, downwardly mobile, and stable. It was possible to categorize 493 of the respondents. About one out of two of the youth had been upwardly mobile, and the other one-half of the sample were almost equally divided among the other two mobility patterns. Whereas a significantly greater proportion of the low skilled white collarites had been upwardly mobile, a greater proportion of the low skilled blue collarites were downwardly mobile. When mobility patterns were examined in relationship to four worker adjustment items, significant differences resulted in connection with positive or negative responses for two of the questions.

If the respondent had a series of two or more jobs, the nature of his career progression was determined by comparing the prestige levels of the jobs. As a result, four types of career

progressions were identified: upward, downward, stable, and unstable. Of the 432 respondents whose careers were amenable to this type of analysis, 32.7 percent had unstable progressions, 31.4 percent had a constant career progression, 12.8 percent had a career reflecting upward progression, and 6.4 percent shared a downward pattern. In summary, this means that only about one out of eight workers had a career progression consistent with the "American Dream." Statistically significant differences in type of career progressions occurred between the white collar low and blue collar low respondents. In contrast to a general major, either a vocational or an academic high school concentration tended to maximize the worker's chances for upward career progression.

Each respondent who had held more than one job since leaving high school was next classified as to whether or not his jobs belonged to the same occupational category. Data pertaining to 503 of the youth indicated that 18.8 percent had "single" occupational categorical careers and 81.2 percent had "multiple" careers. The only major differences according to high school training occurred between those vocational students who had used their training (about one-half multiple and one-half single) and those who did not (about one-fifth multiple and three-fourths single).

The tenure patterns of the respondents were examined in order to ascertain the extent of job stability. About three out of four of the sample had held one, two, or three jobs (22 percent, 31 percent, and 22.9 percent, respectively) and 23.7 percent had held four or more jobs. Each of the four occupational subgroups had a majority of workers who had held one or two jobs; 15 to 28 percent of each group had four or more jobs since high school. Statistical variations characterized the differences between the low skilled subjects of both collar color groups and also between the white collar high and white collar low categories. High school background seemed not to be a major source of variance, except the vocational students who used their training had more stability than those with a general major who did not use their training. The above information lends credence to the premise that a job change may not necessarily indicate that the worker was not adjusted to his previous work; it may merely seem expedient in the attainment of other goals.

If initial full-time employment tenure is examined, one-half of the 642 subjects held their first jobs for at least one year. Over 45 percent of the workers in each occupational group initially worked for one year or more, ranging from 45.5 percent to 63.6 percent of the low skilled and high skilled white collarites, respectively.

The tenure patterns were also examined to determine if the length of employment increased with each successive job. Of those

respondents for whom it was possible to apply this analysis, about one-third experienced successive increments and another one-third experienced successive decrements. Occupational level differences were nonsignificant except between white collar lows and blue collar lows.

About one in four of the respondents had mobility patterns characterized by intraorganizational employment. Slightly over three-fourths of the workers were characterized by inter-organizational mobility, of whom about 50 percent had worked for three or more organizations. The number of organizational changes was not correlated with occupational adjustment. White collar low workers were employed in significantly fewer organizations than were any of the other three groups.

Only 3.4 percent of the sample had a work career characterized by return-mobility. That is, they had worked for one or more organizations between subsequent employment by the same organization.

VIII. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In the order presented, this chapter contains the following discussions: 1) summary of the research rationale and strategy, 2) summary of the most relevant findings and their major implications, 3) limitations of study and directions for future research.

RESEARCH RATIONALE AND STRATEGY: A SUMMARY

The first part of this chapter, fully considered in Chapters I and II, examines briefly the nature of the research problem, the importance of the study, the research design, the research execution, and characteristics of the sample population.

THE PROBLEM

This study has investigated the nature and intensity of worker adjustment problems as identified by a sample of youthful employees. The purpose of the research was twofold: 1) to contribute descriptive data relative to problems of worker adjustment; and 2) to make recommendations which, if implemented, have the potential to alleviate some of the obstacles impeding the transition of youth from school to work.

RELEVANCY OF THE STUDY

The rapidity and nature of recent social-cultural changes have made it increasingly problematic for individuals lacking occupational skills to obtain satisfactory employment; this is particularly true of youthful labor force entrants. When one considers the importance of work for the individual and broader society, it is perplexing that very little research has been conducted which relates to the worker adjustment problems of youth. This research was conducted to promote understanding of this relatively unexplored area.[1]

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[1] A collection of readings (Herman *et al.*, 1968) has been recently published which includes some of the most important publications bearing on this problem. The major concerns of this source pertain to the following: definitions; history; the labor market; education; counseling, guidance, and testing; family; adolescence; juvenile delinquency; and solutions.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study was oriented around the concepts of transition, adjustment, and career as they pertain to a sample of youthful labor force members. An interview schedule was the primary data gathering instrument. Based partially on the results of two previous pilot studies, the items incorporated in the schedule were designed to elicit responses on a variety of background variables, attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns relevant to understanding problems of worker adjustment, frequently encountered by youth in school-to-work transition, as they begin the trial period of their work careers. Most of the items were of the structured forced-choice variety.

Three cities (Columbus, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; and New Orleans, Louisiana) were selected because personnel for conducting the research were located there, and regional and occupational variation characterized each city's respective working force. Four types of workers were included: 1) white collar, high skill; 2) white collar, low skill; 3) blue collar, high skill; and 4) blue collar, low skill. The distinction between collar colors was made on a mental versus manual basis. The skill level dichotomies were determined by the index used by the census. Although single organizations which were large enough to insure sufficient and equal subsample size were sought, it was sometimes necessary to use several organizations within one city. The sample was composed of males who were 18 to 27 years of age. The list of prospective respondents was provided by the employer and the sample was identical to the universe in all but one case. The company's identification was confidential, and the workers were not aware they were chosen to participate in the study because of employment by the company.

RESEARCH EXECUTION

The interview schedule was pretested in each city. Based on the pretest experience, appropriate changes were incorporated in the schedule. The final version of the instrument contained 95 items and required approximately 40 minutes to administer.

All the 642 respondents were interviewed by trained members of the research team, with the exception of 45. In the latter cases, the respondents were sent a questionnaire version of the schedule, requested to self-administer the questionnaire, and return it by mail. Interviewer training aids included "The Manual for Interviewer," special instructions for the instrument, "dry runs," and consultations with the authors. The interviewees were initially contacted by mail. The data were collected between April 1 and July 31, 1968.

The data were computed by electronic means. Most of the findings presented in this publication were in the form of percentage distributions, by the composite sample and the occupational subgroups into which the 642 respondents were categorized.

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was the principal statistic used. Since the data did not satisfy the assumptions of this statistic, the test was employed to give a rough indication concerning whether or not the observed differences were trivial.

SAMPLE POPULATION

Of the 642 male workers who participated in the study, 255 were from Columbus, Ohio; 233 from Omaha, Nebraska; and 154 from New Orleans, Louisiana. The age range of the respondents extended from 18 to 27 years; the median years of age was 23. Only 7.5 percent of the workers were nonwhites. Slightly more than 62 percent of the sample were married, about 35 percent were single, and almost 2.5 percent were divorced, separated, or widowed.

In terms of educational background, approximately 90 percent of the 642 subjects had at least graduated from high school. Of this group, about 30 percent had attended college but did not graduate; only 8.1 percent of the total sample were college graduates. As high school students, 45.8 percent of the sample pursued an academic major, 38.1 percent a general program, 14.2 percent vocational education, and 1.9 percent either did not have high school training or attended for a brief period.

With respect to the collar color and skill level characteristic of their present jobs, the sample members were distributed as follows: white collar high (99 or 15.4 percent); white collar low (112 or 17.4 percent); blue collar high (89 or 13.9 percent); and blue collar low (342 or 53.3 percent). The occupational subgroups were ranked in this order, as to descending relative yearly incomes: white collar high; blue collar high; white collar low; and blue collar low.

MAJOR FINDINGS: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The content of this section, presented in detail in Chapters III through VII, summarizes the basic findings of the project and presents implications suggested by the data. There are five divisions included in this section, one for each of the chapters in which findings were reported in this monograph.

FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT

A series of studies have demonstrated there is a positive relationship between years of educational attainment and the position a person has in the occupational structure. This generalization is applicable to comparable data gathered in the present research. Proportionally speaking, the white collar respondents had more formal education than blue collar workers, and high skill employees of both collar color groups were higher educational achievers than low skill respondents. A multitude of factors impinge upon the educational decision-making process. Considerable thought and research have been devoted to the means whereby obstacles such as limited motivation and restrictive economic barriers could be mitigated so that education would be prolonged and made more meaningful for additional youth. However, it is our impression that a major factor hampering these efforts is a lack of appreciation for the implications which educational experience has for human careers. This suggests a significant question: are school systems devoting sufficient time, using effective means, to teach students the relations among education, occupation, and secular success.

Data on the type of high school programs pursued by the 642 subjects indicated that close to one-half had majored in an academic or college preparatory curriculum. At the time of this survey, however, only one-third had received additional education beyond high school, and a minimal one-twentieth had actually graduated from college. These findings support the thesis that the educational system, taken as a whole, has concentrated its attention on the small percent of students who go through college. All levels of the school system, including school board members, administrators, teachers, counselors, and students, and in the broader society, parents, politicians, and tax payers, must share the responsibility for preparing a significant proportion of high school students unrealistically for work. It is important that of the 292 sample members who recommended a high school major, other than the one in which they had concentrated, for individuals aspiring to enter their line of work, over one-half suggested vocational education.

In addition, the respondents were divided almost equally as to whether or not they considered their high school education useful and relevant to the performance of their present work roles. The criteria used as a basis for these evaluations are not known, but the fact that nearly one-half of the sample said their high school education had no positive effects upon the performance of present work roles must be considered a major indictment of their educational experiences.

Responses were elicited which bear directly upon the role school personnel play in providing a "link" between school and

work. When asked what school personnel assisted them in identifying jobs for which they were qualified, only one in three of the youthful workers were able to meet this information request. Only the guidance counselor was selected with any regularity as providing this type of occupational information.

The results also suggest that the school is quite ineffectual in assisting their graduates in locating jobs. The overwhelming majority of former high school students had to use "personal contacts" or "personal effort" to obtain their initial full-time jobs. This was especially the case for blue collar low respondents. It is this particular group of workers who would most likely be affected adversely in the job-hunt, since their contacts would be such as to greatly restrict the available occupational alternatives.[2]

The findings discussed above suggest that existing structural arrangements and counseling resources are less than adequate in facilitating the provision of information relative to job qualifications and placements.

A large proportion of the sample reported having worked at least one month during the final year of high school. Although most of the respondents did not feel this work was related to their present work, this does not mean that their preadult work experiences were meaningless. It is probable that certain attitudes and values were internalized during this period which may have facilitated subsequent worker adjustments. In fact, early involvement of youth in fairly responsible work positions seems to constitute an important socialization experience with positive implications for subsequent work careers.

About one-third of the sample indicated they found their first full-time jobs as a consequence of fortuitous circumstances, than of any personal qualifications they possessed. This finding is interpretable in terms of the comments offered earlier. First, it can be deduced that a majority of the workers were not trained in a specialized functional area, and consequently, it would have been difficult to derive a match between personal qualifications and job requirements. Second, it is also possible that if, as job seekers, the respondents possessed certain saleable skills, the haphazard pattern characteristic of most of their job hunts would have minimized their chances of finding jobs congruent with their training and skills.

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[2] In a general sense, these findings are consistent with the results of a national survey of vocational guidance in secondary education. The interested reader should consult Robert E. Campbell (1968).

Surprisingly, over one-half of the youthful workers had remained on their initial jobs for more than a year; a pattern of greater job instability was expected. However, the finding becomes explainable if we considered the nature of the sample on which this research was based. The sample does not represent a cross-section of youth, regardless of employment status. Instead, the sample members were "more or less" successful in making the transition from school to work. At the least, they were employed at the time of the survey.

MOTIVATIONS, REWARDS, AND GENERAL EVALUATIONS RELATIVE TO PRESENT JOBS

About half (331) of the respondents had changed jobs at least once following their initial full-time placement in the labor force. Of the total sample, slightly more than 20 percent revealed they changed jobs for "opportunity for advancement." In comparison to other factors, "best opportunity for advancement" was identified more frequently by the white collarites, irrespective of skill levels, and by the blue collar high respondents. By implication, it may be inferred that a major problem characteristic of the previous jobs held by many of the workers was centered in the area of limited opportunity for upward mobility. Moreover, it may be surmized that the perceived opportunity for advancement in their newly acquired work positions is likely to be incongruent with the actual chances for promotion. This inconsistency between imagined and real opportunities is a possible source of discontent for some workers, and can make the occupational adjustment problem particularly acute after they become aware of the actual mobility limitations characteristic of their jobs.

An additional 33 percent of the young workers indicated that "money" was the most important reason why they accepted another job. This reason was selected more often than any other by the blue collar low subjects. Consequently, over three-fourths of the 331 workers based their rationale for changing jobs upon the anticipation of receiving a greater share of extrinsic rewards, and tended to view work as a "means" toward an end, rather than an "end-in-itself." This orientation may lead to the emergence of adjustment problems, emanating from such broad facets of work as "content" and "context," because they were not given serious consideration in the occupational selection process (Garbin, 1967).

The respondents were asked to rate their jobs in terms of 17 different aspects of work, 12 of which were on the personal level (e.g., self-respect, opportunity for advancement, etc.), three on the familial level (e.g., good living), and two on the community level (e.g., influence). The following generalizations have been inferred from these findings: 1) there was a definite tendency for the job evaluations of the white collar low and blue collar

high respondents to converge, less of a tendency for this to be the case with reference to the perceptions of the white collar high and blue collar high workers, and almost no perceived convergency of the low skilled respondents belonging to each collar color grouping; and 2) the occupational ratings of the two white collar groups were more homogeneous than those of subjects classified as blue collarites, irrespective of skill level.

In general, the evaluations attest to the existence of major discrepancies in the orientations of the workers, controlling for the occupational groups to which they belonged. This suggests that worker adjustment problems are likely to vary from one occupational group to another. As such, it is likely that any attempt to formulate a uniform and consistent strategy for enhancing the adjustment process of youthful employees is destined to fail. However, these findings do highlight potentially fruitful starting points for developing complementary strategies for promoting worker adjustment. For example, a majority of the blue collar low employees indicated their jobs did not provide them with adequate opportunities for advancement, self-respect, and interesting experience. In addition, they maintained their employment repeatedly denied them the chance to use their own ideas, skills, and abilities. These opinions can serve as clues to managerial personnel as to possible sources of blue collar dissatisfaction. In some situations, it is likely that no constructive changes could be initiated to improve these aspects of the jobs. If this is the case, management has the responsibility to inform the potential worker, accordingly, so that he can choose, with adequate knowledge of the merits and demerits of the job, whether or not he desires employment. This kind of truthful revelation would represent an instrumental step toward the lessening of considerable worker discontent and maladjustment.

Two items were used to assess the extent to which the composite sample and each of the occupational subgroups were satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs. About 43 percent of the workers gave responses suggesting job dissatisfaction. According to occupational groups, the dissatisfaction percentages were: white collar high (29.3 percent); white collar low (31.7 percent); blue collar high (39.4 percent); and blue collar low (56.6 percent). Comparable data regarding the extent of dissatisfaction are not available. However, the directional relationships between satisfaction-dissatisfaction, according to collar color and skill level, are consistent with prior studies.

Data on the major "likes" and "dislikes" of the workers are important, especially if we are to pay heed to Blauner's (1964:185) warning that "A crash program of research in industrial design and job analysis is needed, oriented to the goals of worker freedom

and dignity as well as the traditional criteria of profit and efficiency." With respect to the total sample, the ratio of workers preferring 'intangible considerations" over "tangible considerations" was roughly three to two. Only the blue collar low workers selected the latter proportionally more frequently than the former. Surprisingly, over one-fifth of the sample said they did not have a major dislike of their jobs. About the same number indicated working conditions constituted a major source of job displeasure.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WORKERS AND COMPONENTS OF THE WORK ENVIRONMENT

The nature of the relationships between the worker and his job was examined in terms of four variant types of alienation. Alienation has been viewed traditionally as characteristic of industrial workers who were limited in skills and abilities. However, our analysis of worker-job relationships suggested there was a marked tendency for three of the forms of alienation to fluctuate very little from one occupational group to another. If this finding is valid, the concern that management has exhibited in recent years with reference to the conditions of alienation typical of low skill industrial workers must be broadened in scope to include other segments of the organizational structure. This is especially true of the form of alienation referred to as "meaninglessness." Over one-third of the workers manifested a "meaningless" relationship with their jobs as indicated by the fact that they did not attribute "importance" to their work.

In general, data bearing on selected aspects of worker-colleague relationships indicated that a preponderance of the 642 workers, regardless of collar color and skill level, were fairly well integrated into the informal work group system. Only one of the seven aspects examined ("other workers pleasant but distant") received less than 70 percent positive endorsement by the respondents. It is significant to note that over 80 percent of the sample did not perceive any particular difficulty working with other employees. The extent to which the young worker-old worker relationship was considered a problem by the former progressed at an increasing rate from one collar color and skill group to another, from 8.1 percent of the white collar highs to 21.1 percent of the blue collar lows.

Almost invariably, superordinate-subordinate relationships constitute the basis for stress and strain. The findings of this investigation on the respondent's evaluations of his supervisor in 12 supervisory descriptions include areas of discord. Three descriptions in particular (praises you when you do well; explains things clearly; and stands up for us) were reportedly not true of

the supervisors of more than one-third to approximately one-half of the respondents. Each of these sources of conflict seems readily amenable to ameliorative efforts.

A general indication of the workers' evaluation of their bosses was indicated by responses to the question, "Would you choose another 'boss' if you could?" About one-fourth of the sample replied that they did prefer another boss. The blue collar high respondents were especially disenchanted with their present supervisors; one-third of them had preferences for other bosses.

Responses to three items were particularly informative concerning the workers' relationships with certain facets of the bureaucratic structures for which they were employed. This pertained to their perceptions of the company's rules, expectations, and communications systems. Of the three, the communication system was viewed most unfavorably, as indicated by the fact that about one-third of the sample felt they were not kept sufficiently informed by their firms. The higher skill employees of both collar color categories were most critical. Structural changes seem required to minimize the problems in this area.

A variety of reasons were specified by the respondents as being most important in explaining why workers advanced in their jobs. The most striking finding relates to the fact that there tended to be very little agreement as to which factor was most important. Among the sample as a whole, quality of work, energy and willingness to work, seniority and educational qualifications were represented in the range extending from 20.4 percent to 23.7 percent. Although promotion is undoubtedly dependent upon a variety of factors, this apparent lack of consensus can be interpreted as having negative implications for worker adjustment. It was indicated and documented earlier that the "mobility theme" is central to the values of these workers. As such, it behooves management to state explicitly and to implement the major criteria for promotion. Furthermore, such information should be disseminated and understood by the persons who will be affected.

It is likely that the problem discussed above is characteristic of most promotion policies, regardless of the nature of the occupations and organizational levels involved. In fact, as other researchers (Coates, Pellegrin, 1957) have reported, a variety of informal criteria for promotion are most likely to be determining factors when specific formal criteria do not exist. This condition would only serve to compound the severity of worker adjustment problems for a great many workers.

About 30 percent of all respondents reported that they had received insufficient training from the firm for the particular jobs they were performing. Negative responses were considerably

more common among respondents belonging to the two blue collar groups. This finding represents a significant criticism of the training opportunities made available by the business-industrial organizations in which the sample members were employed.

No question was asked of the respondents concerning the type and content of the training provided by the firms. However, if Mellenbruch's (1960) findings are also applicable to this study's sample, most of the training was "informal," based on observation, trial and error, and irregular assistance from co-workers and supervisors. In particular, this would seem to be the case for the blue collar workers composing the sample.

The general evaluation which the youthful subjects had of their place of employment was determined by asking the workers if their company was about as good as other companies. Slightly less than one-third of the respondents were of the opinion that their present place of employment was less desirable than others. The white collarites were slightly more prone to view more positively the possibility of employment elsewhere. This was explained by their higher aspirations and opportunities, which can more closely approximate achievements via intercompany job movement.

Over one-half of the sample were union members, most of whom were blue collarites. Of those who belonged to unions, more than one-half actually participated in union affairs. This means that about one in three of the 642 workers belonged and participated in union activities. About seven-tenths of the total sample held positive attitudes toward unions, with the white collars being less inclined than the blue collars to exhibit negative attitudes. Compared to older workers, it can be concluded these youthful employees shared a more favorable orientation toward unions.

SELECTED ATTITUDES, VALUES, AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS RELATING TO WORK

For the sample of 642 workers, a comparison of past expectations-achievements regarding monetary rewards revealed the greatest discrepancy, as almost 20 percent of the respondents maintained their achieved earnings were not consistent with their expectations. The expectations of about nine out of 10 respondents were consistent with their achievements with respect to the level of initial job placement and how well they were doing on their jobs.

A comparison of occupational aspirations with expectations for five years hence indicated that almost one-half of the sample desired more prestigious jobs, but less than five percent actually expected to realize such jobs during the five year period. At the same time, however, over 90 percent of the youth felt it was important for them to achieve the aspired job levels. These

findings are consistent with what could have been predicted. As products of systems of socialization wherein occupational success and upward mobility are ascribed central priority, it is understandable that the orientation of these youth would manifest a certain amount of unrealism. It is likely that prevalence of this "unrealistic syndrome" represents a source of stress and strain which compound the problems some youth have in deriving satisfying adjustments to work.

Preparation for work involves more than inculcating prospective workers with technological skills. For example, almost two out of five of the respondents did not know what it would be like to follow a routine 40 hours per week work schedule. In addition, slightly more than one out of eight workers maintained they had little knowledge concerning the accuracy, neatness, etc., which would be required on the job. Notwithstanding, the technological skill area was identified most frequently by the workers (46.7 percent of sample) as being the most difficult thing they had to learn in job performance. The other areas and the percent of respondents who cited factors included under each area were as follows: interpersonal, 19.2; personal, 14.8; and organizational, 4.3. Only 8.4 percent of the 642 youth reported they had no major adjustment problem. It is important to note that the type of high school program had no relationship to the problematic area as to type or extent.

A recognized need for additional education, training, or experience was shared by a large number of the respondents. One-fifth of the sample suggested that an inadequacy in this area was the explanation for the disparities characteristic of their occupational aspirations-expectations. Almost two-thirds of the workers specified some kind of training, education or experience was needed in order to perform their jobs more effectively. Vocational education was selected most often in this respect (about one-fifth of the sample). These findings underscore the value of workers having the opportunity to pursue training and educational experiences after they are incumbents of work positions.

In general, the data did not suggest that the workers were irresponsible, immature, or undisciplined. Although this very well may have been the case, the reader should be reminded that the findings were based on self-appraisals. It would be of great interest to know the evaluations which the workers' immediate supervisors shared in these regards.

Significantly, an overwhelming majority of the sample had a positive evaluation of work. In fact, about 85 percent of the youth said they would continue to work even if it were not economically necessary to do so. This finding concurs with another study (Morse, Weiss, 1955) which collected data on a similar item. Individuals who are interested in ameliorative efforts directed

toward lessening obstacles impeding a facile adjustment to work apparently need not concern themselves with demonstrating the "value" of work.

Data on job preferences may reveal the values and interests of workers. According to the findings of this study, the youthful employees preferred work they liked, opportunity for advancement, security, and good pay, in that order.

CAREER PATTERNS

Various conceptual distinctions were made and empirical referents presented in the analysis of the respondents' career patterns. By comparing the youthful worker's first and last jobs, it was found that about one-half of 493 youth had been upwardly mobile, but only one out of eight of the workers, for whom data were available, had a career progression congruent with the ideal success pattern (each successive job more prestigious than each previous job). These data suggest that a large proportion of the respondents may have encountered certain strains and tensions because their mobility patterns were discrepant with those of the "American Dream." These and other findings reported earlier in this report poignantly demonstrate the unrealistic and problem producing nature of some of our cultural values.

Over 80 percent of 502 youth had held jobs in more than one major occupational category. This leads us to the following deductions: 1) instead of preparing youth for specific jobs, a more viable training alternative may involve the preparation of youth for careers; and 2) the training could be centered around a cluster of general skills which would have transferability to a variety of related jobs.

Data were gathered pertaining to the number of jobs held by each respondent since his entrance as a full-time member in the labor force. Approximately one out of four of the 642 workers had held four or more jobs. About the same ratio of workers had held three jobs. A comparison of the number of job changes with the responses to three out of four worker adjustment items suggests that it is likely inappropriate to equate job instability with occupational maladjustment. It is more logical to view job change as often being reflective of goals other than those characterized by the desire for a job in which a higher degree of adjustment is expected.

The finding that about one-half of the sample were incumbents of their initial work positions for at least one year constituted a much larger percentage than what was expected. However, as suggested before, it must be stressed we are dealing with a population which had been relatively successful in making the transition from school to work.

Slightly over three-fourths of the youthful respondents had experienced inter-organizational mobility indicating a large majority of the respondents had worked for two or more different organizations. In fact, about one-half of these workers had been in the employ of three or more organizations. It is significant to note that the number of organizational changes was not correlated with occupational adjustment.

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The identification of this study's major research limitations is important for at least two reasons. First, the findings must be interpreted with the data limitations in mind. Second, other researchers should be cognizant of these limitations, so they can take the precautionary measures necessary to alleviate them, should they be interested in exploring a similar problem area.

The implementation of a research design is often characterized by a series of compromises, whereby situational realities necessitate modifications in the original plan of study. The present research project was no exception.

Numerous obstacles were encountered in attempting to implement the original sampling procedure for this investigation. The basic problems stemmed from the fact that it was difficult to locate business-industrial organizations which were willing to cooperate and which also employed the kind of workers desired. As a consequence, the revised sampling procedures limit greatly the generalizability of the findings.

In the main, the present endeavor was descriptive rather than analytical. Certain basic concepts did guide the study and were used eclectically in data presentation and interpretation. However, a more integrative and systematic theoretical framework would have enhanced the quality of this research project.

The organizations which participated in this research were fairly comparable as to size and complexity. It would have also been advisable to have controlled for the size and complexity of the department or sub-organizational unit in which the respondent worked. Unfortunately, this could not be done because of the difficulties involved in locating potential respondents.

In the interview schedule used for this research, many of the items solicited information regarding events and perceptions which, in some instances, had transpired several years previously. The validity and reliability of data which are dependent greatly upon the respondent's recall ability may be questioned. In order to avert this possible source of data contamination, the use of

the panel method has considerable merit. By using this approach, a limited number of youthful workers could be subjected repeatedly to individual and group interviews over an extended time period. This would provide a much needed longitudinal view into the dynamics of the worker adjustment processes. Furthermore, insights relative to the prevention and solution of worker adjustment problems should be more readily obtainable.

The findings of this research were based exclusively on data provided by youthful employed members of the labor force. Comparable data should be derived from a cross-sectional sample of youth, regardless of employment status. Other workers (e.g., foremen or first-line supervisors, older workers) should also be able to contribute to our understanding of the problems facing youth in transition from school to work.

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APPENDIX

Column		
	Field Number _____ (Office Use Only)	
	Interview Number _____ (Office Use Only)	
1 - 3	Schedule Number _____ (Office Use Only)	
4, 5	Community:	Age:
	1. ( ) Columbus	1. ( ) -18
	2. ( ) New Orleans	2. ( ) 18
	3. ( ) Omaha	3. ( ) 19
		4. ( ) 20
6	Race:	5. ( ) 21
	1. ( ) White	6. ( ) 22
	2. ( ) Nonwhite	7. ( ) 23
		8. ( ) 24
7	Sex:	9. ( ) 25
	1. ( ) Male	0. ( ) +25
	2. ( ) Female	

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Project 51 (Survey of Young Workers)
1968

Respondent's: _____
Name (Last) (First) (Middle)

_____
Address (Street, box, etc.) Telephone

8 _____
City State

Interviewer's Name _____

Date of Interview _____, 1968

Time Interview Began _____ Ended _____

Reasons for Non-completion:

1. ____ nonexistent house
2. ____ vacant house
3. ____ not home after 3 calls
4. ____ refusal
5. ____ other, specify: _____

_____

Number of Visits:

Call	Date	Hour	Initial
1	_____	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	_____
3	_____	_____	_____

Column

I AM GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR WORK.

9 *(1) Do you think that jobs for beginning workers are hard to get in the community where you live?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) don't know

10 (2) Did anyone at your high school tell you about the different kinds of jobs for which you might be qualified? (e.g., principal, counselor, etc.)

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

11 If "yes," who? (by title) _____

12 (3) How long after leaving school did you start looking for a full-time job? DO NOT READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) started looking before leaving school
2. ( ) promised a job upon leaving school
3. ( ) within a month after leaving school
4. ( ) over a month after leaving school
5. ( ) entered Armed Services after school--did not seek job until discharge
6. ( ) other, specify: _____

13 * How long after that were you hired? _____

14 (4) How did you find your first job? DO NOT READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) on my own
2. ( ) through employment agency
3. ( ) through newspaper ad
4. ( ) personal contacts (i.e., friends, neighbors)
5. ( ) teachers or guidance counselors
6. ( ) family or relations
7. ( ) don't remember
8. ( ) other, specify: _____

15 (5) Why did you take that job? DO NOT READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) needed the money
2. ( ) it was the best offer in terms of advancement
3. ( ) knew people who worked there and they liked it
4. ( ) only company that offered a halfway decent job
5. ( ) only job offer received
6. ( ) don't remember
7. ( ) other, specify: _____

*The responses to the items which are preceeded by an asterisk are not reported in this publication.

Column

16 (6) Why do you think you got that job? DO NOT READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) educational background was geared in that direction
2. ( ) past work (part-time) experience
3. ( ) personal recommendations
4. ( ) school record
5. ( ) personality
6. ( ) no particular reason; a vacancy existed
7. ( ) other, specify: _____

17 (7) Why did you leave your last full-time job?

_____

(INTERVIEWER: IF THE PRESENT JOB IS THE RESPONDENT'S FIRST JOB, SKIP QUESTIONS 8 AND 9).

18 (8) What was the most important reason why you took this particular job? (Present job) DO NOT READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) needed the money
2. ( ) thought it was the best offer in terms of advancement
3. ( ) knew people who worked here and liked it
4. ( ) only company that offered a halfway decent job
5. ( ) only job offer received
6. ( ) work was the kind enjoyed
7. ( ) other, specify: _____

19 (9) What was the most important reason why you think you got this job? (Present job) DO NOT READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) educational background was geared in that direction
2. ( ) past work (part-time) experience
3. ( ) personal recommendations
4. ( ) school record
5. ( ) personality
6. ( ) no particular reason; a vacancy existed
7. ( ) other, specify: _____

20 - 21 (10) What is the title and principle duties of your present work?

_____

_____

_____

22 (11) What do you <u>like</u> most about your job? _____

_____

Column

23 (12) What do you dislike most about your job? _____

_____

24 - 26 *(13) Is there any other job in your company, paying about the same as your present job that you would rather have?

1. ( ) yes (if "yes," why?) _____

_____

2. ( ) no (if "no," why not?) _____

_____

3. ( ) don't know

(14) Answer "yes," "no," or "D/K" (don't know) for each of the following questions. CIRCLE APPROPRIATE ANSWERS.

			Yes	No	D/K
27	1.	Is your job too monotonous?	1	2	3
28	2.	Are you doing as well in your present job as you expected to?	1	2	3
29	*3.	Have you ever thought seriously about changing your job?.	1	2	3
30	4.	Do you feel you can work at your own speed?.	1	2	3
31	*5.	Is your work often frustrating? . . .	1	2	3
32	6.	Did the firm give you sufficient training for the job you are doing? .	1	2	3
33	7.	Are you satisfied with your earnings?	1	2	3
34	8.	Would you choose another "boss" if you could?.	1	2	3
35	9.	Do you think that the job you are in is the right sort of job for you? . .	1	2	3
36	*10.	Do you have too many bosses?.	1	2	3

(15) (HAND RESPONDENT CARD #1) Each of the following statements is to be rated on the basis of the following numbers: 1 = very high; 2 = high; 3 = average; 4 = low; 5 = very low; and 6 = not applicable. Select the one number in each case which you think best describes how your job rates on each of the following characteristics.

Column	Your job:	Very high	High	Average	Low	Very low	Not applicable
37	1. provides you with the opportunity for advancement or promotion	1	2	3	4	5	6
38	2. does more than merely keep you occupied by filling your day and giving you something to do	1	2	3	4	5	6
39	3. gives you a feeling of self-respect	1	2	3	4	5	6
40	4. provides you with new and interesting experiences	1	2	3	4	5	6
41	5. enables you to make a "good" living for yourself and your family	1	2	3	4	5	6
42	6. serves as a source of satisfaction because your family is proud that you have the job you do	1	2	3	4	5	6
43	7. makes use of your skills and abilities	1	2	3	4	5	6
44	8. gives you the chance to work with and be with people	1	2	3	4	5	6
45	9. provides you with enjoyment because you can use your own ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6
46	10. provides a secure future for you and your family	1	2	3	4	5	6
47	11. makes it possible for you to have influence in the community	1	2	3	4	5	6
48	12. demands you follow a pretty regular routine on the job . .	1	2	3	4	5	6

Column	Your job:	Very high	High	Average	Low	Very low	Not applicable
49	13. gives you the chance to tell others on the job what to do .	1	2	3	4	5	6
50	14. gives purpose to your life . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
51	15. gives you and your family the respect of others in the community.	1	2	3	4	5	6
52	16. provides you with "good" working hours	1	2	3	4	5	6
53	17. makes it possible for you to be of service or useful to others	1	2	3	4	5	6

For the following questions, answer "yes," "no," or "don't know."

		Yes	No	Don't Know
54	*(16) In the performance of your work, do you usually work alone?	1	2	3
55	*(17) Do you have a boss on your job?	1	2	3
56	*(18) Does your boss have a boss?	1	2	3
57	*(19) Is there anyone over your boss's boss? . .	1	2	3
58	*(20) Is there anyone over whom you are the boss?	1	2	3
59	(21) Do you feel the rules that determine company policy are set up to consider the worker? .	1	2	3
60	(22) Does this company expect too much of the young people who work for it?	1	2	3
61	(23) Do you feel that you are told enough about what is going on in the firm to keep you informed?	1	2	3
62	(24) How much influence do you and others like you have on the way the place where you work is run?			

Column

1. ( ) a lot
2. ( ) some
3. ( ) very little
4. ( ) none

63 (25) (HAND RESPONDENT CARD #2) In your opinion, which one thing gives a person the best chance to advance--to get ahead--in this company?

1. ( ) the quality of his work
2. ( ) his energy and willingness to work
3. ( ) how long he has been with the company (seniority)
4. ( ) how well he gets along personally with the boss
5. ( ) personal and educational qualifications
6. ( ) other, specify _____

64 (26) Is your job one of the more important jobs in the overall functioning of the company?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) don't know

65 *(27) Do you feel that your company does some things in ways that you see can be made more efficient?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) don't know

66 Have you ever offered them your suggestions?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

67 (28) For a person in your trade or occupation, do you think this company is about as good a place as there is to work, or do you think there are other places that are better?

1. ( ) this company is as good
2. ( ) other places are better
3. ( ) don't know

68 (29) If you could start over, would you go into the same kind of work that you are now doing?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) not sure

Column

69 (30) In the work you are presently doing, are you making less, more, or as much money as you expected to be making?

1. ( ) making less money than I expected
2. ( ) making more money than I expected
3. ( ) making about as much money as I expected

70 - 71 (31) When you first started working, did you expect to be placed at a higher job level than the one you were placed at?

1. ( ) yes--why would you say you weren't? _____

_____

2. ( ) no

72 - 73 (32) What job would you <u>like</u> to have 5 years from now?

_____

74 *(33) How important is it to you to get this job? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) very important
2. ( ) important
3. ( ) somewhat important
4. ( ) unimportant
5. ( ) very unimportant

75 CARD #1

1 - 3 I.D. NUMBER

4 - 5 (34) What job do you <u>really think</u> you will have 5 years from now?

_____

6 - 7 (35) HAND RESPONDENT CARD #3 <u>IF</u> REPLIES TO QUESTIONS #32 AND #34 ARE DIFFERENT. IF THEY ARE THE SAME, GO ON TO QUESTION #36. If the job you <u>really think</u> you will get is different from the one you would like to get, what are the most important factors which you feel are responsible for this difference? INDICATE THE MOST IMPORTANT AS <u>1</u> AND SECOND MOST IMPORTANT AS <u>2</u>.

1. ( ) not qualified because of inadequate education, training, or experience
2. ( ) health; do not have the physical qualifications
3. ( ) racial discrimination
4. ( ) economic reasons: not enough money to start own business; can't afford to quit present job and look for another, etc.

Column

5. ( ) family responsibilities: can't leave to seek employment elsewhere
6. ( ) no opportunity in this city: no openings available, etc.
7. ( ) afraid to leave security of present job; afraid of new job
8. ( ) too much invested in present job; have gotten special training for it, etc.
9. ( ) too young
10. ( ) other, specify: _____
11. ( ) does not apply

8 (36) Would you like to have a job in which you are responsible for other people's work, in addition to your own (e.g., foreman, manager, etc.)? (IF ANSWER IS (3), SKIP TO QUESTION #37).

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) does not apply; already does

9 Would you say that the chances are good, or not so good, that you will some day be offered such a job?

1. ( ) good
2. ( ) not so good
3. ( ) does not apply

10 (37) In general, how do you feel about working? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) loves working
2. ( ) enjoys it some of the time
3. ( ) has to do it; doesn't really feel anything, one way or another
4. ( ) finds it unpleasant
5. ( ) hates working

11 (38) Let us imagine you inherited enough money to make a good living (live comfortably) without working. Do you think you would work anyway? (IF "NO," OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP TO QUESTION #39).

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) don't know

12 If yes, what is the most important reason you would continue working?

_____

Column

13 * Would you keep your present job or get another?

1. ( ) keep it
2. ( ) get another
3. ( ) don't know
4. ( ) does not apply

(39) Let us imagine that you have been offered two jobs. For each of the following pairs, choose either "1" or "2" as that which is more important to you in deciding between jobs, other things being equal. CIRCLE RESPONSE.

A job offering:

14 (1) good pay or (2) work you like

15 (1) good pay or (2) opportunity for advancement

16 (1) good pay or (2) security

17 (1) work you like or (2) opportunity for advancement

18 (1) work you like or (2) security

19 (1) opportunity for advancement or (2) security

20 *(40) Do you wish to get together with others to discuss the job and how to improve the quality of work?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

21 Have you?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

22 (41) (HAND RESPONDENT CARD #4 AND ASK HIM FOR THE NUMBER THAT BEST APPLIES). Which one thing do you feel gives a person the best chance to advance--to get ahead--where he works?

1. ( ) the quality of his work
2. ( ) his energy and willingness to work
3. ( ) how long he has been with the company (seniority)
4. ( ) how well he gets along personally with the boss
5. ( ) good luck
6. ( ) other, specify: _____

Column

23 - 24 *(42) (HAND RESPONDENT CARD #5. MARK "1" FOR MOST IMPORTANT AND "2" FOR NEXT MOST IMPORTANT). Which of the following do you consider most important in your life? The next most important?

1. ( ) your career or occupation
2. ( ) family relationships
3. ( ) leisure time recreational activities
4. ( ) religious beliefs or activities
5. ( ) other, specify: _____

25 *(43) (HAND RESPONDENT CARD #6). What do you think is the most important difference between work and other activities?

1. ( ) Work is not enjoyed, not liked.
2. ( ) Work is effort, physical or mental.
3. ( ) Work is something for which you are paid.
4. ( ) Work is required, something you have to do.
5. ( ) Work is something productive, a contribution.
6. ( ) Work is scheduled and done regularly.

26 (44) How often do you do things in your work that you wouldn't do if you didn't have to? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) frequently
2. ( ) occasionally
3. ( ) rarely
4. ( ) never

27 (45) Do you consider yourself to be a better worker than most of the others here?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

28 - 30 (46) If you were offered a similar job with the same pay but with more responsibilities, would you accept it?

1. ( ) yes, why? _____

2. ( ) no, why not? _____

31 (47) If you were offered a higher paying job which involved more responsibilities, would you accept it?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

32 (48) When a worker does something extra for the boss, is he usually: READ ALTERNATIVES.

Column

1. ( ) trying to show up the rest of the workers
2. ( ) looking for special privileges
3. ( ) trying to help the company
4. ( ) making it rough on the rest who don't help

33 (49) In your present job, are you willing to accept duties beyond those that are required of you?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

34 (50) When you make a mistake in your work, what do you do? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) tell your boss
2. ( ) forget about it
3. ( ) try to figure out how to correct it by yourself
4. ( ) get someone to help you straighten out the problem

35 (51) How often are you late for work? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) frequently
2. ( ) occasionally
3. ( ) rarely
4. ( ) never

36 (52) Do you generally take off days when you don't feel like working?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

37 (53) On the average, about how many days per month are you absent from your job?

1. ( ) 1 day or less per month
2. ( ) 2 days per month
3. ( ) 3 days per month
4. ( ) 4 days per month
5. ( ) 5 or more days per month
6. ( ) never

38 (54) To what extent do you consider yourself to be a responsible worker? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) very high
2. ( ) high
3. ( ) average
4. ( ) low
5. ( ) very low

Column

39 (55) Did you really know what it would be like to work 8 hours a day, 5 days a week when you first started working?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

40 (56) To what extent did you know what your job would require in terms of accuracy, neatness, being on time, etc. when you took your first job? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) very high
2. ( ) high
3. ( ) average
4. ( ) low
5. ( ) very low

(57) How many days did it take you to learn the skills and to "catch on" to the things you needed to know about all parts of your job?

41 _____ days

Did you really know what you were required to do?

42 1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

Did you feel qualified for this type of work when you were hired?

43 1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

44 (58) What would you say is the most difficult thing you have had to learn in order to do your job well?

_____

_____

45 - 46 (59) Are there things asked of you on your job that are just impossible for you to do?

1. ( ) no
2. ( ) yes, specify: _____

_____

47 (60) How often do you get mad and lose your temper when the boss criticizes your work? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) frequently
2. ( ) occasionally
3. ( ) rarely
4. ( ) never

Column

48 - 49 (61) At the present time, what kinds of training would help you to do a better job? _____

_____

50 - 64 62) Here are some descriptions that can apply to "the boss." I will read through the list and you indicate those which apply or do not apply to your boss (that is, the person you think of as most directly in charge of your work). (INTERVIEWER: CHECK (X) ONLY THOSE WHICH APPLY).

1.	( )	fair	9.	( )	praises you when you do well
2.	( )	strict	10.	( )	explains things clearly
3.	( )	expects too much	11.	( )	stands up for us
4.	( )	knows his job	12.	( )	has favorites
5.	( )	listens to what you say	13.	( )	treats you like a human being
6.	( )	nagging	14.	( )	you never know where you are with him/her
7.	( )	too old			
8.	( )	breathes down your neck	15.	( )	listens to others because they have been here longer

65 (63) If you felt your boss was being unfair to you, would you: READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) complain to "higher-ups?"
2. ( ) suffer in silence?
3. ( ) quit?
4. ( ) tell him about it in private?
5. ( ) get the support of co-workers and speak to the boss as a group?

66 *(64) In general, do you like or dislike the people for whom you work?

1. ( ) like
2. ( ) dislike

*(65) At first, did you: (CHECK ALL THOSE THAT APPLY).

67 1. ( ) find the other workers very kind and eager to help?
68 2. ( ) find the other workers likely to play tricks on you?
69 3. ( ) find the other workers hard to get to know?
70 4. ( ) find the other workers pleasant but distant?
71 5. ( ) know most of your fellow workers as friends?
72 6. ( ) associate with the others?
73 7. ( ) act friendly just to get the job done?
74 8. ( ) have many things in common with the other workers?

75 CARD #2

Column

1 - 3 I.D. NUMBER

(66) Now, do you: (CHECK ALL THOSE THAT APPLY).

4 1. ( ) find the other workers very kind and eager to help?
5 *2. ( ) find the other workers likely to play tricks on you?
6 3. ( ) find the other workers hard to get to know?
7 4. ( ) find the other workers pleasant but distant?
8 5. ( ) know most of your fellow workers as friends?
9 6. ( ) associate with the others?
10 7. ( ) act friendly just to get the job done?
11 8. ( ) have many things in common with the other workers?

12 *(67) Have you made any new close friends at your job?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

13 *(68) If you saw something that should be done (that some other worker forgot to do), would you: READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) do it?
2. ( ) ignore it?
3. ( ) tell the boss that it needs to be done?
4. ( ) tell the worker responsible?
5. ( ) report the worker to the boss?

14 (69) Do you find it hard to work with older workers?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) don't know

15 (70) Are you a member of a union? (IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION #72).

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

16 (71) Do you participate in your union?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) does not apply

17 (72) Unions play a significant role not only in bettering conditions for a certain group of people but also in contributing to the welfare of the society as a whole. Would you agree or disagree?

1. ( ) agree
2. ( ) don't know
3. ( ) disagree

Column

AND NOW, SOME QUESTIONS FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES.

18 (73) What is your marital status? (IF "SINGLE," SKIP TO QUESTION #75).

1. ( ) single
2. ( ) married
3. ( ) separated
4. ( ) divorced
5. ( ) widowed

19 * At what age did you marry? _____

20 *(74) How many children do you have? _____

21 - 23 (75) What was the last year of schooling completed by your father? By your mother? By you? (PLACE ONE X IN EACH COLUMN).

	By Father	By Mother	By You
1. less than 7 years of school	( )	( )	( )
2. finished 8 grades or graduated from elementary school.	( )	( )	( )
3. completed junior high school (9 years of school)	( )	( )	( )
4. some high school (did not graduate)	( )	( )	( )
5. graduated from high school	( )	( )	( )
6. some post-high school, business or technical school	( )	( )	( )
7. completed post-high school, business or technical school	( )	( )	( )
8. some college or university (did not graduate)	( )	( )	( )
9. graduated from college or university. .	( )	( )	( )
10. some graduate or professional training	( )	( )	( )
11. completed graduate or professional training	( )	( )	( )
12. don't know	( )	( )	( )

24 *(76) What is the usual occupation of the head of the household in your parental family, what is the job called, what kind of business or industry does he work in and what does he do? (For example, "carpenter, works on a construction crew building homes," "sales clerk, waits on customers in a department store," "owner and president of a large grocery chain of 15 stores").

_____

_____

_____

Column

25 (77) What do you estimate as the present income of the head of the household in your parental family? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD #7. ASK FOR LETTER THAT APPLIES).

1.	(A)	( ) less than $3,000	6.	(F)	( ) $11,000 to $12,999
2.	(B)	( ) $3,000 to $4,999	7.	(G)	( ) $13,000 to $14,999
3.	(C)	( ) $5,000 to $6,999	8.	(H)	( ) over $15,000
4.	(D)	( ) $7,000 to $8,999	9.	(I)	( ) I have no idea; refused
5.	(E)	( ) $9,000 to $10,999			

26 *(78) How many brothers and sisters (half or full) do you have?

1.	( ) none - SKIP TO #79	4.	( ) 3
2.	( ) 1	5.	( ) 4
3.	( ) 2	6.	( ) 5 or more

If brothers are full-time workers, what are their usual occupations; that is, what is the job called, what kind of business or industry do they work in, and what do they do?

27 1. _____

28 2. _____

29 3. _____

30 4. _____

31 (79) With whom do you make your home?

1.	( ) parents	5.	( ) spouse and relatives
2.	( ) relative(s)	6.	( ) alone
3.	( ) friend(s)	7.	( ) other, specify: _____
4.	( ) spouse		_____

32 *(80) What was the name of the place and state in which you spent most of your life?

_____ _____
Place State

33 *(81) Considering everything, how satisfied would you say you are with this community as a place to live? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) very satisfied
2. ( ) satisfied
3. ( ) neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. ( ) dissatisfied
5. ( ) very dissatisfied

Column

34 *(82) Did you go to school in this community?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) other, specify: _____

35 (83) What was your major course of study when you were in high school? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) academic (college preparatory)
2. ( ) general
3. ( ) vocational

36 Do you use this training on your present job?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

37 (84) If someone was planning to eventually pursue the same job you have, and he was just entering high school, would you suggest that he enter the same major course of study that you did? IF YES, SKIP TO QUESTION #85.

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

38 If no, which would you suggest? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) academic
2. ( ) general
3. ( ) vocational
4. ( ) does not apply

39 (85) How well did you do in high school? That is, would you say you were in the:

1. ( ) top quarter
2. ( ) second quarter
3. ( ) third quarter, or
4. ( ) bottom quarter of your class?

*(86) What kinds of jobs do your two closest high school friends have? IF "DON'T KNOW," WRITE THAT IN PROPER SPACE AND SKIP TO #87.

40 Closest friend: _____

41 Other friend: _____

42 Considering your job, would you say it is better than, equal to, or not as good as those your friends have taken?

Column

1. ( ) better than
2. ( ) equal to
3. ( ) not as good as

*(87) If these are no longer your two closest friends, what do your present two closest friends do?

43 1. ( ) does not apply; same friends
44 2. ( ) one is still a close friend; close friend: _____ _____ new friend: _____
45 3. ( ) neither is still closest friend: new--closest friend: _____ other new friend: _____

46 (88) What was the most important reason why you decided to end your education when you did? READ ALTERNATIVES AND ASK FOR THE ONE MOST APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

1. ( ) had to work
2. ( ) wanted to work
3. ( ) couldn't afford college
4. ( ) lack of ability
5. ( ) disliked school
6. ( ) military service
7. ( ) no particular reason
8. ( ) other, specify: _____

47 *(89) If you had a choice, what would you do? READ ALTERNATIVES.

1. ( ) go to college
2. ( ) work somewhere else
3. ( ) stay exactly where you are
4. ( ) go into a special skill training program
5. ( ) other, specify: _____

48 (90) During your last year of school, did you hold a full- or part-time job that lasted 4 weeks or more?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no - SKIP TO QUESTION #91

If yes:

49 What kind of work did you do? _____

50 How many hours per week did you usually work? _____

51 Do you feel that this job interfered with your school work in any way?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

Column

52 *(91) Have you ever served in the U.S. Armed Forces?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no

53 *(92) Do you think being "draftable" has affected the way you have reacted to this job?

1. ( ) yes
2. ( ) no
3. ( ) not sure
4. ( ) does not apply

54 If yes, in what way? _____

55 - 72 (93) Beginning with your present job, please list those jobs you have held since leaving school. Please also note the length of time you held each job.

	Type of Job	Name of Organization	Length of Time
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____

73 (94) How would you feel about a son of yours going into your kind of work?

_____

_____

74 (95) What is your yearly gross salary? HAND RESPONDENT CARD #8 AND ASK ONLY FOR THE LETTER OF THE PROPER RESPONSE.

1. (A) ( ) $3,000 or less
2. (B) ( ) $3,000 to $3,999
3. (C) ( ) $4,000 to $4,999
4. (D) ( ) $5,000 to $5,999
5. (E) ( ) $6,000 to $6,999
6. (F) ( ) $7,000 to $7,999
7. (G) ( ) $8,000 to $8,999
8. (H) ( ) $9,000 to $9,999
9. (I) ( ) $10,000 and over
0. (J) ( ) Refused

75 CARD #3